

Cilicia, Tarsus, and the Great Taurus Pass

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## CILICIA, TARSUS, AND THE GREAT TAURUS PASS.

By Prof. W. M. RAMSAY.\*

### I. CILICIA.

BEARING in mind that Asia Minor consists of a lofty quadrilateral plateau closed in by a rim of mountains, which are edged with a fringe of low coast-land and sea-valleys or glens extending up into fissures in the mountain-rim, we may roughly describe Cilicia as being that part of the fringe which lies in the extreme south-eastern corner, between the sea on the south and the mountain-rim (called Taurus) on the north. As to its other boundaries, Cilicia on the west is hemmed in by the mountain-rim, which broadens out till it touches the sea, and on the east it is shut in by a single ridge protruding to the south from the Taurus, and named Amanus. Thus Cilicia is marked off, as with a giant's hand, by bold and lofty mountain ranges, and it lies far down under them, beside the sea, well-watered, fertile, and requiring, for the most part, only the minimum of work and forethought to maintain that proper balance between water and soil which in those countries is the prime condition, and which can rarely be attained in them except with great care and elaborate preparation. The maintenance of the balance requires both that the waters which flow down from the surrounding mountains should not be allowed to form marshes in some places, and that their fertilizing influence should not be denied to other parts. At the present time long neglect has permitted some portions of Cilicia to become useless from one or other of those two causes; but still,

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\* This paper forms part of a Report of work for the Wilson Travelling Fellowship in Aberdeen. Read at the Royal Geographical Society, May 11, 1903. Map, p. 484.  
No. IV.—OCTOBER, 1903.]

considerable part is productive in the highest degree, with little attention to irrigation.

In addition to the sea-plain, Cilicia contains a tract of higher land, viz. the foothills which are interposed to break the transition between the lofty Taurus mountains and the coast, and also a part of the Taurus ridge itself. But these hills and slopes have had no independent character in history; they were simply adjuncts to the fertile coast-plain, enabling the population of the latter to maintain health and vigour in themselves and in some classes of their domestic animals by utilizing the differences of level and of temperature.

This land, called the Level Cilicia by the ancients, is remarkably homogeneous, both geographically and historically. It is separated from the rest of the world by very commanding boundaries, and within it there is no emphatic division to mar its unity. Generally speaking, it fell before an invader as a whole or it successfully resisted as a whole.

But no country is absolutely homogeneous geographically; and where there is any free national life, some divergence of feeling and interest must arise between the parts and introduce the element of competition and rivalry. Only where there is a dead level of stagnation, as in modern Turkey, can there be perfect homogeneousness in the people and the cities and the history of any district. The principle which is emphatically expressed in the Cilician country is that the historical differences are obviously founded on the geographical divisions.

Even a slight examination of the map shows that the Level Cilicia is divided into two plains, the Lower and the Upper. The Lower or Western Plain is triangular in shape, with the sea at its base, and its apex in a recess of the foothills. Along with it must be included (1) the slopes that lead back to the northern limits on the broad back of Taurus, and (2) a very narrow strip of coast on the west, where the plateau mountain-rim and the intermediate lower hills come closer and closer to the sea. The Western Plain is watered and drained by three rivers, Cydnus, Saros, and Pyramus; and many minor streams flow from the edge of Taurus through the foothills to join these rivers, or, at the western end of Cilicia, to fall direct into the sea.

The Upper or Eastern Plain lies higher up on the Pyramus and its tributaries. It is divided both from the sea and from the Western Plain by a ridge called Jebel-Nur,\* which protrudes from Amanus westwards along the coast, and at one point approaches so close to the northern foothills as to form a narrow pass. Through this pass the river Pyramus finds its way from the Upper to the Lower Plain, and where it enters the Lower Plain there stands in the gateway an ancient city, now Missis, formerly Mopsou-Hestia,† commanding the crossing of the Pyramus.

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\* The south-western end is called Dede-Dagh.

† "The Hearth of the prophet Mopsus."

This position determines its tragic history. Its position was strong, and yet not strong enough. The hills could readily be crossed, and the city could thus always be surrounded by an invading force. It lay on the track of every army. It was captured by every even temporarily successful invader, and usually destroyed by each of them; yet its position was so important at the great crossing of the Pyramus that it must continually be restored, only to perish once more in the next invasion during the pitiable period of Cilician history between 650 and 1615.

Along with the Eastern Plain must be reckoned the slopes that lead up to Taurus and to Amanus, as well as the whole Jebel-Nur and its strip of coast-land.

Under the Roman Empire Cilicia was at first a mere adjunct to Syria, and afterwards a province along with the countries on the west and north-west. But as growing civilization produced more complex organization, Cilicia, in the early fourth century, became a separate province, and finally, about 397, was divided into two distinct provinces, First and Second Cilicia, which correspond exactly to the two geographical parts above described. Failure to observe the geographical character of this division has led the recent Austrian explorers, Messrs. Heberdey and Wilhelm, into error, for they place the city of Augusta, which belonged to First or Western Cilicia, in the extreme east of Second Cilicia,\* *i.e.* the Eastern Plain.

But even before the formal separation, the difference between the two plains made itself apparent in history. One was a maritime plain and in closer relation with foreign countries; it was the larger, and was the seat of a civilization of earlier and more Europeanized development. The other was an inland plain (except the strip of coast on the south of Jebel-Nur), for a long time more Oriental in character. The contrast between the two plains was expressed in the rivalry between their two capitals, Tarsus in the Western Plain, and Anazarbus in the Eastern, and the story of that rivalry would fill a curious page in history. So long as any true municipal life exists, such rivalry is inevitable and not necessarily unhealthy; it ceases only in a dead-level of apathetic and characterless monotony.

## II. RIVERS AND CITIES OF THE WEST CILICIAN PLAIN.

But even the Western Maritime Plain has not a homogeneous history strung on a single thread or connected with the fortune of a single leading city. It contains three great rivers, and each of these has for a time supported the chief city of the whole plain, the centre of distribution and trade. The cities—Adana on the Saros, Mallos on the

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\* See their *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 2. M. Imhoof Blumer also placed it in that neighbourhood. The determining condition for Augusta was pointed out in the *Historical Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 384.



Pyramus, and Tarsus on the Cydnus—reflect the part which the rivers have played in making and moulding the country and its history.

Each of the three rivers in succession has offered for a time the chief channel or harbour for such maritime trade as existed, and thus given the pre-eminence to its own city. The Saros and the Pyramus both carry a much larger body of water than the Cydnus, afford direct communication with much larger territories, and flow near the central axis of the country. Yet in past history Tarsus and the Cydnus have played a much greater part than Mallos or Adana with their respective rivers. The story of the manner in which the rivers have, first of all, made the country, and afterwards moulded the history of man in the country, has never been written. I am not competent to describe it fully; but even the part which I seem to see with clearness and certainty would require a large chapter to itself, and in this paper it is only possible to indicate what is needed for understanding rightly the nature and importance of our main subject.

Here, on a comparatively small scale and within rather narrow limits, the influence of natural conditions, and particularly of rivers, on human development is expressed in such broad and emphatic outlines that it can be studied with unusual clearness. And if the scale is small in comparison with the great modern countries, it is large in comparison with ancient Greece; that feeling of tininess, as of a toy-country with children playing at history, which has been the first impression on the mind of many travellers as they looked over the little plains of Argos and Mycenæ, or of Athens, or of Olympia, has no place in the mind of a traveller in Cilicia. On the contrary, as one stands on the top of the highest house on the acropolis of Adana, and looks north across the low intervening hills to the summits of Taurus, and south over the apparently limitless plain which the ancients called the Aleian, the sense of greatness and wide extent is quite out of proportion to the actual measurements, for that apparently limitless plain between Adana and the sea contains only 800 square miles\* of arable land, with a strip of sand-hills and lagoons along the coast.

There was a time when the level West Plain of Cilicia was a great arm of the sea. That gulf has been gradually filled up by the two great rivers, Pyramus and Saros (aided probably by a slight rise in the level of the land †), and of these the Saros has been the chief agent in determining the character of the plain.

The Pyramus keeps close to the bounding hills of Jebel-Nur on the east, creeping round their outer edge. It flowed into the sea, during the Greek and the Roman period, on the west side of the little isolated

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\* The estimate is taken from Major Bennet.

† Dr. Christie, of Tarsus, told me that a succession of old sea-beaches can be traced, marking out the shape of the former gulf.

ridge of hills on which Mallos was situated. Afterwards, during the middle ages, it changed its course, and now it hugs still more closely the edge of Jebel-Nur, creeping round until its mouth flows back to the east into the bay of Ayash, which it is rapidly filling up. Thus it now flows on the east side of the Mallos hills. Throughout history its agency has been confined to the extreme eastern edge of the Lower Plain of Cilicia.

Mallos occupied a position of peculiar importance in early time. It was safe and strong from its situation on a hill. It was close to the sea, but it faced, not towards the sea, but the river (as Scylax says);\* and it had at Magarsus the mouth of the river to serve as its harbour. From its coinage we see that it was the old port-city of Cilicia, the earliest seat of Greek influence and trade, and the chief centre of distribution for the plain.† But its greatness lies far back at the very beginning, and even before the beginning, of recorded history. At that time the Pyramus was, as I believe, the only well-defined river-entrance on the Cilician coast, and the first river produced the first city.

The key to early Cilician history lies in the development, *i.e.* the gradual defining, of the river Saros. This river has been a great problem to modern geographers, such as Prof. Carl Ritter in his monumental 'Erdkunde von Asien.' Why is it that some of the old Greek writers speak of the Saros as flowing into the sea, while others omit it as if it never reached the sea by an independent mouth? A fantastic theory has been devised by Langlois, and mentioned with toleration though not definitely accepted by Ritter, to the effect that the Saros channel varied to an extraordinary degree; that it sometimes joined the Pyramus, and other times had an independent mouth, and again resumed its connection with the Pyramus; and that this change back and forwards has occurred many times.

I do not dispute the fact that the Saros may at an early time have joined the Pyramus. Sir Charles Wilson's opinion is that it did so, and that the channel can be traced; and we may safely follow his opinion on such a matter.‡ That is not the point which here concerns us.

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\* Dr. Heberdey follows M. Imhoof Blumer in placing Mallos 15 miles up the river, in a marsh where the old and the modern arms fork; they disregard Strabo's express statement that it was situated on a height, and his implication (shown in his following paragraph) that it was a coast city. The number of stadia given in the *Stadiasmus* between Mallos and Antiochia-Magarsus cannot be trusted; that authority is full of such errors. The actual site of Mallos has not yet been discovered: it will be found probably on the northern slope of the ridge of hills not far from the village of Kara-Tash.

† The great Swiss numismatist, M. Imhoof Blumer, has given back to Mallos its early coinage (formerly wrongly assigned), and thus made it possible to restore a lost page in history, which here we can only allude to in passing.

‡ I ought, however, to mention that Colonel Massy says the levels are unfavourable to this opinion.

The point is that the Saros, from at least the first century B.C. onwards, has had its separate independent course from Adana to the sea, and has not, during that period of two thousand years, been connected with the Pyramus.

Now we can go back to a very early time, when the lower course of the Saros was a succession of swamps and waste land, and the Aléian plain through which it flows was only half won from the sea. Below Adana the river Saros has a very slight fall to the sea. The railway at Adana is only 19 metres (63 feet) above sea-level; but the course of the river from Adana to the sea is quite 35 miles, measuring roughly along the general line of its channel, and probably about 50 or 60, if its complicated windings are taken into account. Thus long after the Pyramus had a well-defined channel down to the coast near Mallos, the river Saros was struggling through those marshy lowlands to reach the sea.

A memory of that early time is preserved in the Homeric poems, in the legend of Bellerophon—

“When at last, distracted in his mind,  
Forsook of Heaven, forsaking human kind,  
Wide o'er the Aléian Plain he chose to stray,  
A long, forlorn, uncomfortable way.”

‘Iliad,’ V.

The writer evidently understood the plain to be a melancholy waste, untraversed by any path, uninhabited by man, a scar upon the smiling face of the land, where a melancholic madman might “wander alone, eating his own soul, avoiding the paths of men.”

This description can by no possibility be applied to the plain, as it was certainly in the time of Strabo, and apparently also three centuries earlier under Alexander the Great, one of the richest and most populous and highly cultivated districts known to the ancients. But it applies rightly to the plain as it must have been at some earlier period. As usual, when we can compare the Homeric description with natural conditions which have been in a process of change, the poem takes us back to a very early stage in the process. It preserves a true tale of ancient days, brought to the Ægean harbours by the first Greek sailors who traded to the port of Mallos; and that story probably carries us back as far as the ninth century B.C., and opens before us a page in the gradual formation of the Cilician land and the Cilician river.\* How far human work co-operated with nature in defining the river is a question on which proper exploration would doubtless throw light.†

Strabo, with his usual accuracy, mentions that the Aléian Plain did

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\* I do not touch on the question whether the form in which the ‘Iliad’ gives the story shows any traces of alteration and lateness.

† It is, perhaps, connected with the question as to the unknown site of Augusta, founded A.D. 20.

not reach down to the sea. The modern travellers explain this. There is a strip of sand and waste land and lagoons along the coast, 2 or 3 miles in width, which Sir Charles Wilson describes as consisting of "sand-hills about 10 feet high, cane-brakes, lagoons of fresh and salt water, and two permanent marshes." The true Aléian Plain lies inland from this waste shore.

Strabo gives a minute description of the Cilician coast-line. He was an admirably careful geographer, whose work (so far as his own land of Asia Minor is concerned) impresses one more and more with its thoroughness and trustworthiness as one knows the country better. He describes the Cydnus mouth, and then he passes on to the Pyramus mouth, leaving the Saros unnoticed. Yet he alludes several times to the upper course of the Saros and its greatest tributary the Karmalas,\* and relates how a flood in the Karmalas injured certain lands in the neighbourhood of Mallos. This seems very strong evidence, both negative and positive, in favour of those who maintain that the Saros joined the Pyramus in Strabo's time. Could Strabo be called a good geographer if he omitted the mouth of that important river? Could the Karmalas flood injure those lands, if the river flowed many miles to the west of Mallos?

But Ptolemy's evidence is clear, shortly after Strabo's time, that the Saros did not join the Pyramus. To infer from Strabo's silence that the Saros had no independent course to the sea is false. The reason why he is silent about the mouth of the Saros is that it was altogether unimportant for his purpose; it supported no city on its lower course, and it offered no harbour for trade. Its sluggish current ended in a lagoon, with a bar of sand half dividing it from the sea, and not even the small ships of the ancients could enter it. It exercised no effect on commerce and on civilization, and therefore it lay outside of Strabo's subject. The *argumentum a silentio* not merely gave a false conclusion; it also missed the real conclusion which can be drawn from Strabo. When read aright, Strabo opens to us another page in the building up of the Cilician land by the Cilician rivers. The Saros had still no direct entrance into the sea in his time, but ended in a lagoon, as indicated in the accompanying map.†

Now, a glance at the course of the river below Adana shows that great flood coming down the Saros would overflow the country on the south-east, below the great bend of the river, but not the country on the west. These lands on the left bank were, beyond all doubt, part of the territory subject to the great city of Mallos, and the injury

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\* Prof. Tomaschek still maintains the old error that the Karmalas was a tributary of the Pyramus (see *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 288, on the point).

† This appears from the distances stated in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, and suits both Ptolemy and Dion Chrys., xxxiv., well.

caused by such a flood would affect chiefly the people of Mallos. That sudden and transitory flood would do little harm in the upper and middle course of the river, but below Adana, where the stream meanders in its almost level channel, it would sweep headlong over the lands between its left bank and the sea.

Thus it was not till long after the Aléian Plain had been deposited and brought under human care and cultivation, that the Saros acquired a definite and well-marked mouth towards the sea. In the Roman period it still flowed into the large lagoon beside the modern Merkez, less than 9 miles east of the Cydnus, and 15 miles west of the Pyramus, as the *Stadiasmus* says.

But the building up of the Lower Cilician plain, and the reason why that work necessarily ceased at the modern coast-line, so that there has been extremely little change in the Cilician coast-line since the time of Strabo (except in the bay of Ayash, which is protected from the current that sweeps and protects the open coast-line)—all that forms a separate chapter.

We now see why the Saros could not develop a maritime city before the time of Strabo. We have next to examine how the Cydnus developed a great trading city.

In that early time when Mallos was the great Cilician port, the river Cydnus flowed not into the sea direct, but into a lagoon or Rhegma, into which the sea broke over its bar of sand. Tarsus was not at that time a city with a harbour; and it could not be a centre of trade. In that early period the Greek city Mallos, the trading capital, is contrasted with Tarsus, the Oriental city. That lagoon has long ceased to be a lagoon; it is now an inland lake, supplied by fresh-water springs and by overflow from the Cydnus, which no longer flows into the lake, and reaches it only by occasional overflow. But the very name Rhegma shows that it was originally a lagoon, half barred from, half connected with, the sea.\*

This change in the course of the Cydnus was due to human agency: it was the work of Justinian in the sixth century after Christ.† Before that time the Cydnus flowed into the Rhegma, and thence reached the sea. But already, in the time of Strabo, about A.D. 19, it was no longer a lagoon, but only a wider part of the river-channel, serving as harbour and arsenal of the city; and the river flowed on in a well-defined course with a full body of water into the sea.

The conclusion seems clear. Engineering operations had assisted nature and helped to define the lake and the lower course of the river, to regulate both, to embank them and border the lake with piers and

\* The meaning "lagoon" for the Greek *ἐρηγμα* seems clear, but is not given in the Lexicons.

† The course just above Tarsus is wrongly indicated in the accompanying map, following R. Kiepert. See Appendix IV.

dockyards.\* The useless lagoon had been converted into an admirable harbour, perfectly open, yet completely land-locked. This great operation must be understood as a part of the improvements whereby Tarsus had ousted Mallos from its rank as the chief port-city of Cilicia. Thus ancient Tarsus, like modern Glasgow, made its own river and its own harbour.

But, owing to the very slight difference of level between the lake and the sea, it must have required constant care to keep the harbour of Tarsus open; and in the stagnation of later Byzantine times, and the ruin and carelessness of Mohammedan rule, the harbour became closed. The operation of Justinian (though, as I believe, it was intended only as a safety-valve, carrying off a dangerous superabundance of water likely to cause a flood in the city, and not to turn away the river entirely from the city and the harbour) acted injuriously on the harbour. The old channel through the city became blocked,† and the river gradually turned its waters wholly into the freer channel on the east. Thus at present the old Rhegma is a marshy lake a mile or two west of the river, varying greatly in size at different seasons, discharging a small body of surplus water by a narrow channel into the river 2 miles or so above the sea, turning a great deal of the best land of Tarsus into useless marsh, and breeding fever and insect pests to such a degree as to make Tarsus the most trying place of summer residence that I have experienced in the whole country.

### III. THE ROAD ACROSS TAURUS.

Again, Tarsus and Mallos competed not only for the sea-borne trade, but also for communication with the inner country. The influence of the Greek element is to be traced by the name of Mopsus, the prophet who led and directed the Greek traders. Mopsou-Hestia, the Hearth of Mopsus, marks the road connecting Mallos with the Eastern plain of Cilicia.

The connection of Adana with Mallos, also, seems to have been ancient. They were united not merely by their common opposition to Tarsus,‡ but also by the fact that Mallos communicated with the inner country beyond Taurus by way of Adana, which stood at the southern end of the natural pass through Mount Taurus.

But on that natural pass there was one serious difficulty (described

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\* These features are mentioned by Strabo in his description of Tarsus.

† But this did not finally become the case until the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Early travellers in Turkey saw the river still flowing in part through the city, in which its channel can easily be traced still, by the depression, by the gravel and pebbles below the surface, and by the piers of a Roman bridge seen by Dr. Christie under a house. The modern watercourse on the west side of Tarsus is wholly artificial, as can be seen by following it up to the point where it is taken off from the river.

‡ Dion Chrysostom speaks of their long-standing feud in his second Tarsian Oration.



below in Section VII.). The pass was blocked for waggon traffic by that difficulty at its southern end. This made it possible for Tarsus to compete with Adana by opening another route over Taurus.

Tarsian energy cut through the rocks of the Cilician Gates a new path which avoided that difficulty and placed their city at the southern end of the only waggon-road which crossed Taurus. An important point on that new Tarsian road was called Mopsou-Krene, the Fountain of Mopsus, and the name of the prophetic guide of Greek enterprise shows (as is probable on other grounds) that this great engineering work was a step in the development of Greek commerce. It was the Greek settlers in Tarsus who competed with the Greeks of Mallos.

This is the road which I now shall attempt to describe. This introduction has been intended to show that the evolution of this road, one of the great triumphs of early civilization over natural barriers, is simply one act in the long struggle for control of the markets of the country.

As we go over the road now, it needs an effort to understand how great a triumph of human skill and energy it was originally, when the path had to be found, and built, and cut. So, as one crosses the Alps by the Swiss roads, it takes an effort to understand how the Romans could think that they were an impassable barrier to Hannibal, and how Hannibal could lose half his army in crossing them, and bring only a remnant of half-starved men down on the Italian side. Taurus has never been a barrier so serious as the Alps; but it was a barrier and a terror in the classical period to a degree that we now can hardly cease to wonder at.

Of all the Taurus passes, incomparably the most important in history, and still by far the most important, is that called the Cilician Gates. The Gates formed only one single point on the road, which has a course of more than 70 miles through the Taurus mountains and foothills; but the road may be conveniently named from the Gates, as the most striking feature in ancient history, though far from the most important in modern time or in the future development of the route. But the route as a whole will long remain the greatest and the critical crossing of the whole Taurus range, though the Gates will be avoided, and the railway, if not also the road, will hereafter make its southern end at Adana, not at Tarsus.

The Great Pass has been frequently traversed by travellers, and yet it has been always difficult to find a sufficient description of its course. Every traveller confined himself to wondering and admiring; none took the trouble to make and publish notes, but trusted that their predecessors had done so. Only recently, in a traveller whom hitherto I had ranked low, I found by far the best, most accurate, detailed, and practically useful account of the whole route; and I make my apologies to his shade for a rather slighting reference to one scene in his travels,

which is contained in my 'Impressions of Turkey.' The traveller was Macdonald Kinneir, captain in the service of the East India Company, who passed through the Gates in 1813, in the course of a long journey in Asiatic Turkey.

My account of the road is founded on notes made in two journeys, in 1891 and 1902. On both occasions my wife accompanied me, and the photographs, of which a few specimens are here published, were made by her. I also saw a small part of the road in 1882, in the company of Sir C. Wilson, and traversed it entirely in 1900; but the notes made on those occasions are almost entirely superseded by later ones.

The importance of the pass lies mainly in the past. Those lands have long ceased to be of any serious consequence in the world. They cannot again come to be of importance until better administration and more secure tenure have restored prosperity. But that they should ever again become of prime importance in human history, that the opening up of good communication through the Great Pass should ever become a central question on which human development depends—all that is as unlikely as anything can well be. Yet long ago the making of that road which we are about to describe was one of those critical events on which the fortunes of mankind depended, though, like many other such events, it was unrecorded and unnoticed at the time, and has since remained unregarded by historians.

Only one fact can give real importance to the Great Pass, within the range of possible experience of living men, and that is that railway communication with the East should be established by way of Constantinople and the Euphrates valley. This is the way by which such a railway is likely to cross the Taurus. So far as I am able to learn, there is no other pass which could be mentioned in competition with it, except that which leads from Albistan to Marash, far away to the east; but I cannot find that that pass is so easy to overcome as the Great Cilician way, while it is immensely more difficult to reach it from Constantinople.

There is no engineering difficulty of the slightest consequence in extending the existing railway from Konia to the northern end of the Cilician Pass; I doubt if anywhere a gradient sharper than 1 in 100 would be needed, and there is neither river nor marsh, hardly more than a brook, to cross.\* Once placed at the northern end of the pass, the line has a gentle descent down a continuous easy glen—interrupted only once by a ridge of no serious consequence—for about 35 miles. In those 35 miles the descent is only about 2200 feet, giving, without any zigzags,

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\* Charshamba-Su, 20 miles south of Konia, is the largest channel (though carrying little water), and seven or eight good bridges cross it already; it carries very little water, but has a broad channel with slightly elevated ground on both sides.



a gradient of 1 in 80, roughly speaking.\* But then comes the one serious difficulty: the glen ends before a wall nearly 2000 feet in height, with hardly any room for curves in surmounting it. The river of the glen finds its way through an underground channel; but it is no part of our task to speculate about the issue of the railway, whether a tunnel or a mountain railway would be needed. It need only be said that the expense would be very great at this point; but that if a tunnel could be made, the railway could be worked with perfect ease and without any extraordinary expenditure. No other pass offers this advantage.

Of course, no such railway could be made to pay. It cannot be a commercial enterprise under present conditions. But, even on the dead level of the Central Plateau, no railway can be made at present to pay. I doubt very much if the existing lines on the plateau, taken by themselves, and apart from the portions which lie in the coast-lands, do much more than pay the bare working expenses; and I was assured two years ago by a good authority who has a life's experience on the railways of the country, that—within the limits stated—one of those existing plateau railways did not pay even working expenses. There is, however, a steady improvement in the traffic, especially on the German Anatolian Railway.

Those railways of the plateau can be constructed only as means for developing and civilizing the country, or for strengthening its defences, not for immediate return on capital invested. But for the first purpose a railway through the Great Pass to the coast will do much; and for the second purpose that railway, if extended to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, will become a matter of European importance, and a centre of interest for every government and every politician in the civilized world. In view of this possibility, a somewhat minute and detailed description of the pass is not without its value.†

#### IV. THE ROAD FROM TARSUS TO THE CILICIAN GATES.

According to the usual rule in this country, the road from Tarsus to the Gates avoids the valley of the stream which comes down from the Gates to the city. So far as the maps can be relied on, the course of the stream is fairly direct, but there are difficulties, though I do not know that any modern traveller has ever followed the stream throughout its whole course.

The modern waggon-road issues from Tarsus by the eastern gate, which was destroyed not many years ago by the governing pasha after it had lasted, as is said, from the time of Harun-al-Rashid, and coincides for nearly a mile with the road to Adana. It crosses the Cydnus by a

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\* There is a sharp descent of 400 feet at Chifte-Khan.

† These remarks were printed in 1902, before the Bagdad railway question had attracted public attention.

bridge, and then turns north and ascends the valley of the tributary stream into which Justinian diverted the main river.

Since the railway Mersina-Tarsus-Adana was built, traffic from or to the Gates seeks the nearest point on the railway, viz. a station called Gulek Boghaz, about 2 miles from Tarsus. We began our journey in 1902 from this station, coming by train from Adana, and finding our travelling equipment waiting at the station. On previous journeys we came down from the Gates by the horse-road, which enters Tarsus on the north side, crossing the Cydnus by a bridge immediately below the cataracts. Thus, as it happens, I have never seen the course of the waggon-road for the first 3 or 4 miles from Tarsus.

Two miles north of the railway station, the road enters the foothills in front of the main ridge of Taurus, and follows an easy path up a valley, open at first, but soon narrowing. The whole hill district on both sides of the road is called Bairamli-Toprak (soil of Bairamli); and the central village, Bairamli, lies about 2 miles west of the waggon-road, and 10 north of Tarsus.\*

This district was, certainly, much used by the ancient Tarsians for country residence. It is close to Tarsus, and yet has a healthier situation than the city in the plain. The name of Eski-Tarsus, "Old Tarsus," which clings to the ruins a mile east of Kavakli (a tiny settlement at a khan in the Bairamli district on the waggon-road 16 kilometres from Tarsus), shows that some recollection of the close relation between the city and what may be called "the suburbs" on the hills, survived in local popular nomenclature. But the principal Roman remains lie on the Roman road west of Kavakli (see next section).

At Tash-Ovasi (between 27 and 28 kilometres, 18 miles), one of two alternative roads from Adana joins our Tarsian road to the Gates, and a khan stands by the road north of the junction. In this part of its course the road traverses high, rolling, broken, but fairly well-wooded country: fir, cedar, plane, oak, and other trees abound in the country round and further north. A striking and picturesque castle, apparently mediæval, has been for some time visible at a considerable distance straight in front; it is now called Kiz-Kalesi.

After the khan the road turns more to the westward, and, after 2 or 3 miles, enters a picturesque and well-wooded glen running from north to south. The road at first keeps high on the east bank, and then crosses the stream to the right or west bank. In this neighbourhood it meets the line of the Roman road, but I did not succeed in determining the exact point. The village of Muzar, and a ruin called Yanifa Kishla, lie a little to the right of the modern road, which now leaves the glen, crosses a low plateau, and enters another glen, running north and south.

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\* I speak of Roman miles throughout the paper: roughly speaking, 2 make 3 kilometres; 10 make a little over 9 English miles.

In this glen, which we now enter, flows the water that descends from the Gates. The scenery is here magnificent, and it grows more and more grand and impressive as we advance northwards towards the Gates. As we enter the glen from the east, we observe a road ascending from the stream up the opposite hillside, 400 to 500 feet, and disappearing across the hill; it is said to be the horse-road from the Gates, leading direct to Tarsus. Thus neither the horse-road nor the waggon-road follows the direct watercourse down to Tarsus.

At 38 kilometres from Tarsus is Mazar-Oluk-Khan,\* where, according to the regular order of easy travel, the first day's journey from Tarsus ends. The journey is short, but we have ascended more than 1900 feet from the railway, and are now about 2000 feet above sea-level. The road here is still on the east side of the stream, and at some height above it; and the glen is more open at this point, though still confined between the two hill-ridges.

The ancient Mopsou-krene, the fountain of the mythical prophet Mopsus, is commonly supposed to have been situated close to this point; and some traces of ancient life were observed by Langlois on a wooded hill to the north of the khan. In the same neighbourhood Colonel Chesney and Mr. Ainsworth stayed at a village, Bostanlyk, "the place of gardens;"† but at the present day no such village exists. Presumably it was destroyed or abandoned when the Egyptian army held the Cilician Gates. Langlois, in 1852, who found no village of that name, doubts whether it ever existed; but the older travellers would not invent a village.

But the most serious difficulty lies in the doubt whether the Roman road traversed the glen of Mazar-Oluk. It will be shown in the following section that it probably took a different line.

North of Mazar-Oluk the scenery continues similar. The road keeps on up the gorge, and then crosses to the west side; but after a mile or so recrosses to the east bank (after the 44-kilometre stone), and immediately afterwards we reach Sarishek-Khan,‡ where the second of the two roads from Adana to the Gates joins our road. The glen here opens to a small valley, and there is considerable cultivation. One would expect that the principal town of the district should be here rather than at Mazar-Oluk, and such has been the case throughout the Turkish period, as the remains show. But Mopsou-krene could not be situated here, for the distance from the Gates is only  $9\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres (a

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\* Mazar-Oluk, "Grave-hillock." Oluk is a very common element in Turkish nomenclature, much misrepresented by European travellers. This name, *e.g.*, is given variously as Mezerlyk (*i.e.* graveyard), Mazari-kolou, etc.

† It may be suspected that the ruins of this village are those which Langlois took for the traces of ancient life.

‡ Sari-Ishek, "Yellow-doukey;" called Sarik, "Turban," by Langlois.

little over 6 miles), whereas Mopsou-krene was 12 miles distant from them.

Sarishek is also the junction of the other road (referred to above) from Adana to the Gates,\* and must always have derived some importance from being a meeting-place of roads, much superior to Mazar-Oluk in its long narrow glen. An abundant fountain of water is also a feature here. It is artificial, but the water must rise in the hills that bound the open ground not far away.

The natives declare that Sarishek-Khan was built by Ibrahim Pasha; but there are here remains obviously of the early Turkish time. This whole road affords an interesting study in the growth of mythology. Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, held Cilicia from 1832 to 1840, and opened up the road to carry his guns over the mountains. He has now become a mythological hero, and almost every building or work of any consequence along the road is attributed to him, from the ruinous little khan of Sarishek to the vast old Turkish building called Ulu Kishla ("the Long Barracks") at the northern end of the pass. Perhaps even the Arch of Severus† is attributed to him, but for this I cannot vouch. It is not strange that his victorious progress across Taurus and through Asia Minor to Kutaya, his victories over the Turks, even when Von Moltke was directing the Turkish artillery, and his abundant vigour and energy, should have caught and kept a place in the stolid and unobservant mind of the Oriental peasant. He was the last of the great Oriental conquerors, no unworthy successor of Tamerlane and Genghiz Khan, of Cyrus and Tiglath-pileser; but he fell in the age of European ambassadors and the Great Powers, and his career was arrested in the middle of his triumphant march on Constantinople.

But it is an interesting example of the general law of human nature, or at least Oriental nature, that, so far as I heard, not one word of truth or history was remembered about him along the road, though he was mentioned by almost every one we talked to. His real character and his real deeds had been entirely forgotten, and a series of demonstrably false acts were attributed to him. Some of these unhistoric acts have passed into European books, and it will be worth while to correct them as we go, and to notice from time to time the way in which this historical personage has within sixty years become a mere legend.

There is also at Sarishek a ruinous turbé, the first example which we have seen on this road of that very common kind of religious foundation. The turbé, or ziyaret, always contains the tomb, supposed or real, of some holy personage, who usually bears a Mohammedan name; but in many cases the holiness of the turbé obviously dates from pre-

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\* These roads from Adana to the Gates must, of course, be distinguished from the road connecting Adana with the natural pass through the Taurus, *i.e.* the road from Adana direct to the vale of Bozanti, Section VII.

† See next section.

Mohammedan time, and it may be laid down as a general rule that the turbés are the chief of the many ways in which Mohammedanism has adopted and maintained, under a superficial varnish of its own character, the ancient religious beliefs or superstitions of the country. It is worthy of note that the sacredness of the spot is regularly associated with a grave, for that was the foundation on which the primitive holiness of places rested in Anatolia. The turbés in general have in recent years fallen into disrepair and disrepute; the revenues for their maintenance were all taken possession of by the state in the time of Mahmud II., and the government charged itself with the duty of maintaining the religious establishments—a duty which has been performed as all other duties of administration are performed in Turkey.

I tried to find out the name of the Mohammedan saint, or dede, who was buried at Sarishek, but in vain. No one knew. One old man, at last, declared the turbé contained the grave of a dede named Omar, a name which I have observed in other parts of Asia Minor as the bearer of the religious inheritance under the form of Omar-Baba ("Old-Man-Omar"); but I was uncertain whether my aged informant was speaking the truth, or merely wished to get rid of a persistent questioner by satisfying his desire for information. Every traveller has to guard against that most dangerous source of error, information given because it is evidently desired.

There must have been a small ancient town or village in this tempting position; and the Turbé is evidently the expression of the awe which always attached to the tradition of ancient life and greatness in Anatolia.\* In treating that subject elsewhere, the writer pointed out that the turbé is very frequently the indication of an ancient site, and that a religious map of the country would be a good guide to its ancient history. A town necessarily was a religious fact as well as a social fact, and no religious fact seems ever to be entirely lost in Anatolia. The local religion is permanent amid all changes in the national religion.†

Even the mere junction of two roads was a religious fact to the ancient mind; and the religious idea of the Three Ways was anthropomorphized as a goddess in Greece and Rome. The form which that religious fact assumed in Asia Minor requires investigation in a more suitable place; but there is some probability that the symbol called Triskeles was in Asia Minor only a rude indication of the meeting of three ways—a symbol which, when the craze for solar symbolism was at its height, was interpreted as the sign of the sun in its course. The

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\* It is necessary to add that there is in the gorge, a mile or two north of Mazar-Oluk, but on the opposite bank, a sacred tree; in my notes there is only the vague information that it is between the kilometre-stones 39 and 42.

† See a paper by the present writer on the "Permanent Attachment of Religious Veneration to Localities," *Transactions of the Oriental Congress in London*, 1892, pp. 381 ff.

symbol is often found on coins of the cities of that country.\* Sarishek, then, is situated at a place sacred as a meeting of three ways.

The sides of the gorge grow loftier, and the gorge itself narrower, as we advance. The road crosses the stream by bridges five times between Mazar-Oluk and the Gates. At about  $49\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres from Tarsus we reach Giaour-Harman, in a small opening of the gorge, and at 50 kilometres a new khan called Ala-Begirli. Thirteen minutes after Ala-Begirli † there were visible, what I took at first for the foundations of a Roman bridge, barely appearing on the surface of the ground at the edge of the stream about 20 feet below on our left; but as there seemed to be no trace of or place for a Roman road on the opposite side, the

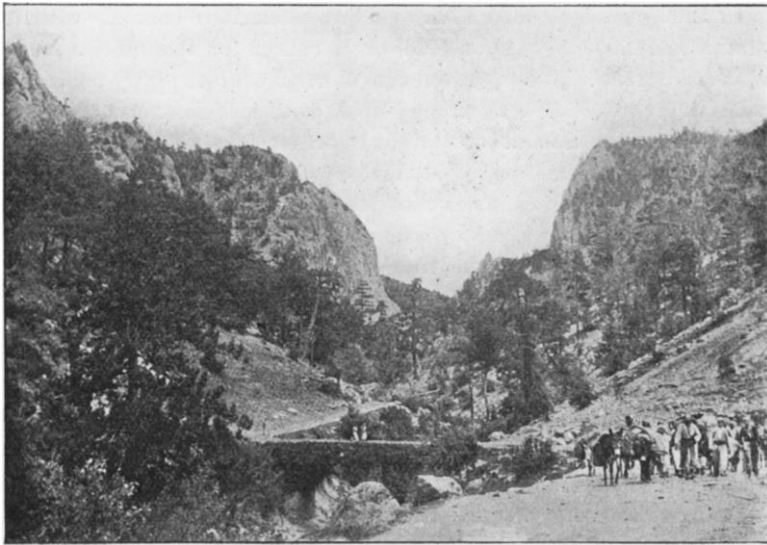


FIG. 1.—APPROACHING THE CILICIAN GATES FROM THE SOUTH.‡

foundation must have been intended to carry the wall or arch supporting the road.

At last there appeared in front of us a lofty ridge or wall of rock, stretching from east to west right across the line of our path, the front

\* It is confined almost entirely to cities where the Hellenic spirit was weak and Hellenic education little known; *e.g.* Olba, Adada, Etenna, Aspendus in early time, and early Lycian coins. It belongs, therefore, to a religion which was non-Hellenic, and it disappeared when a Hellenic varnish was put over Anatolian religious ideas.

† Our course here was very slow, as the surface of the road is very bad. As a proof of the uncertainty of dead-reckoning by time of march, on which my route-surveys have always been based, it may be mentioned that our driving-time per kilometre varied between six and twelve minutes.

‡ The appearance of height in the mountains cannot be truly given in the photographs; this is especially the case in Nos. 1 and 9, where they are dwarfed.



wall of the main mass of Taurus. It can hardly be less than 1500 feet in sheer height above us, as we first see it. It would bar the progress of any one except an active mountaineer, were it not for a narrow cleft which pierces it from north to south, where the water of the stream finds a passage from the broad back of the Taurus plateau down through our gorge to the Cilician Plain. This cleft is the Cilician Gates in the strict sense. Six minutes before reaching the entrance the road crosses the last bridge, and passes the Gates, 54 kilometres from Tarsus, on the west or right bank of the stream. The view from beside the bridge is singularly grand.

#### V. THE ROMAN ROAD FROM TARSUS TO THE CILICIAN GATES.

In 1902 we had to choose between two alternative courses—either to examine the modern waggon-road, or to search for the precise line of the Roman road. We preferred the former course, partly because it seemed more useful in a geographical point of view, partly because the search for the Roman road might require a long time, which we had not at our disposal, and partly because we could thus travel by waggon, which, while less pleasant, is also less expensive. The modern road has been measured, and many kilometre-stones erected at rather uncertain intervals along it; so that it now forms the foundation for a geographical study of the region.

The general course of the Roman road is certain in the first 12 miles north of Tarsus, and in the final part between Sarishek and the Gates. In the latter it coincides almost exactly with the modern road; in fact, nature offers no alternative. The intermediate part of the road is uncertain.

The chief question is whether the Roman road followed the water (as the modern road does) down from Sarishek to Mazar-Oluk. In this part we observed no trace of old work, building or cutting, and though this is not conclusive (as it would take a long time to examine sufficiently minutely to justify a confident negative), yet it creates a doubt whether the ancient road traversed this southern part of the gorge.

The known facts about the course of the Roman road may be summarized as follows:—

The modern road at first keeps to the lowest level along a small stream. The Roman road followed a more direct course, 1 to 2 miles west of the modern line, on higher ground; but though this line is more undulating and broken than that of the modern road, yet by more expensive works the Roman road may probably have been made as suitable for traffic as the modern line. A little to the north of Bairamli, Langlois in 1852 traced the line of the Roman road for a distance of 2 kilometres; and the same line is still well marked, running almost directly north about 2 miles west of Kavakli. He says that it is paved with large slabs, and is 3 metres broad. His account is confirmed in

every respect by the Rev. Dr. Christie of Tarsus, who recently followed the line of the road in that part, and sent me photographs.

On the summit of a high plateau, about 1400 feet above the sea (according to his estimate), a triumphal arch spans the road.\* It is still almost as perfect as when Langlois saw it in 1852. Situation and construction show that the arch is of the Roman time. Langlois says that tradition assigns it to Constantine, but he does not specify what he means by tradition. There is not, in the strict sense, any tradition in the Turkish lands about the origin and character of ancient buildings; there are merely the fancies of modern inhabitants who have acquired some education. The view which elsewhere I have ventured to suggest† is that this is the ruin of a triumphal arch, built by the Tarsians in honour of the victory of Septimus Severus in 194 A.D. Severus came down through the Gates, and defeated his rival Pescennius on the coast near Issus. In commemoration of this event an arch was erected near the scene of the victory on the Syrian frontiers; but the Tarsians mention on their coins a different arch, which they erected at a place in their own territory near the northern frontier. The place was named Kodrigai, a Graecized form of the Latin Quadriga, because the arch was surmounted by a four-horsed chariot carrying the deified emperor. The name is given on coins of Tarsus in the third century, which show that games were held by the city on the high, open, undulating plateau which the Roman road here traverses.

Immediately beyond Sarishek-Khan, when the gorge again narrowed, we began to find traces of the Roman road, and these were nearly continuous till the Gates were passed. The ancient road was made in the steep bank, by cutting the rock on the higher side and by building on the lower side, so as to give a sufficiently broad platform. The ancient cuttings of the rock can be distinguished at a glance from the fractures made by blasting for the modern road, which also is a work of considerable magnitude and well executed, except between Sarishek and the Gates.

It was also noteworthy that the Roman road was always, so far as I observed, throughout this part of the gorge, on a higher level by 3 or 4 feet than the modern road.‡ There must, therefore, have been a great amount of building to support the ancient road; and in the Roman fashion that was, beyond doubt, done with cut stones. Yet I did not observe a single cut stone in the whole length of the gorge, though in one case I noticed by the water-side the cut foundations to carry the supporting wall (see the preceding section).

I mention this, as some of those who have not seen the Midas-city in

\* It is more than a mile north of Bairamli village, and about 2 west of Kavakli.

† *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1898, p. 2376.

‡ Precisely the same observation was made by the German botanist, Th. Kotschy, about sixty years ago (Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. p. 281).



Phrygia have expressed doubt as to my identification of the line of walls of the ancient city, on the ground that I did not find a single one of the stones of which the wall was built, but only the rock-cuttings made to receive them.

One must be struck with the contrast between the numerous traces of the Roman road here, and the absence of traces in the glen of Mazar-Oluk. It seems probable that the Roman road, coming south down the narrow glen from the Cilician Gates, diverged from the glen at Sarishek, and kept away slightly east of south over the Boz Bel, and so down to somewhere near the village Muzar. This gives a more direct route, and the appearance of the country as one looked north from the neighbourhood of Muzar, or south from Sarishek, did not suggest that there was any obstacle insuperable to Roman engineers, who were not fettered by considerations of cheapness in laying out their roads.

Kinneir in 1813 followed the course which has just been conjectured for the Roman road. He describes in his clear and accurate way his route from the Gates as far as Sarishek-Khan (which he does not name), "near the mouth of the gorge." Formerly I thought this was a mere lapse of memory on his part, due to his confusing Sarishek with Mazar-Oluk. But when the theory of the Roman road was wrought out, Kinneir's accuracy was triumphantly established. He came down the gorge till it widens at Sarishek; there he turned away south-south-east, as he says, "through a country interspersed with gentle slopes." Though the traveller coming from Mazar-Oluk finds Sarishek about the middle of the defile, yet one coming from the north thinks that the defile ends at that little open glade with its fields and buildings; provided that he does not go on to Mazar-Oluk and discover that the gorge closes in again immediately. But Kinneir turned away south-south-east, through "a country interspersed with gentle slopes," a description which suits the supposed Roman route well, and the Mazar-Oluk road very badly.

After reading several times Kinneir's clear and carefully estimated description of his journey through the Great Pass, one becomes convinced that he turned out of the gorge at Sarishek, and travelled direct to Muzar and Bairamli without seeing the continuation of the gorge at Mazar-Oluk. With some travellers one might suppose a lapse of memory and a mere omission of the lower part of the defile; but Kinneir was evidently keenly interested in the Great Pass, and describes it stage by stage more accurately than any other traveller who has written about it, and his careful and spirited description may serve as proof that this route, now never used, is both possible and direct.

If this theory as to the course of the Roman road (as indicated on the map) be correct, the historically interesting site of Mopsou-krene on the road would have to be looked for a little way north of Muzar; but no proper exploration of this region has ever been made.

The ordinary view is that Mopsou-krene was situated at Mazar-Oluk, but in examining the locality it seemed to me that as to this identification of Mopsou-krene there is some doubt. Our authorities give the distance from the Gates as 12 Roman miles, *i.e.* 18 kilometres; but Mazar-Oluk-Khan is only 16 kilometres from the Gates. Moreover, a position in this narrow glen seems unsuitable for an ancient town. I should rather look for the site about a mile south of the Khan, on the high ground where the modern road from Tarsus enters the glen, even if it should be found that the Roman road went through the pass of Mazar-Oluk.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that Langlois saw the ruins of a small church of the basilica form, and that there is a good fountain at the Khan. Also the discrepancy as regards distance is slight, for anything over 11 miles would be called 12 in the Itineraries. Moreover, Mopsou-krene is not called a town by our authorities, and may have been a mere *mansio*.

I do not know, however, what is the source from which the fountain derives its water; the art of conducting water in hidden channels for a long distance is a branch of engineering art—perhaps the only branch—in which ancient skill has persisted through the Turkish period; \* and as a rule it was only natural sources, not artificial fountains, which made for themselves a place in ancient local nomenclature. But I am under the impression that the source is actually at the Khan.

When Theophanes calls Mopsou-krene the first halting-place from Tarsus on the north road (*πρώτη μὲν ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ*, p. 46), no inference bearing on this question can be drawn. Mazar-Oluk is the first halting-place for those who are making an easy journey, and Sarishek for those who are travelling fast. Just as little inference is allowable from Ammianus, who says that Mopsou-krene was the last station for travellers before they passed out of Cilicia.

The idea suggested itself to me at first that Mopsou-krene might have been beside Sarishek, which clearly was the site of an ancient village, and that the distance from the Gates should read as VII., not XII. But a fragmentary inscription found in Rome, giving a route from Tarsus † northwards, seems conclusive that Mopsou-krene was several miles south from Sarishek. The first day's journey ended at Mopsou-krene, the second at Panhormus (evidently a large inn near the modern Tekir-Khan), the third at Aquæ Calidæ, the fourth at Tynna, the fifth at Tyana, the sixth at Andabalis (the modern Andaval). Of these the fourth, Tynna, is unknown, but we must suppose it was about halfway

\* 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor,' p. 88. In those cases where I have seen native water engineers at work, or heard about them, even in the heart of a purely Mohammedan region, they have been Greeks.

† It is quoted in the 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor,' p. 68. The name Tarsus is lost, but can hardly be doubted.

between the third and fifth. This route evidently implies that each day's journey was between 18 and 22 miles, and the document gives excellent evidence of the ordinary rate of travelling\* in ancient time (which is the same as that assumed by me in reckoning the itineraries of St. Paul). It also proves that Mopsou-krene was about 6 miles south from Sarishek, or 2 south from Mazar-Oluk, exactly as the Jerusalem Itinerary places it, 12 from the Gates (and 22 from Tarsus).

Mopsou-krene never became a bishopric. Probably the territory of Tarsus extended up to the Gates, and Mopsou-krene was merely a village in the Tarsian land. The inscriptions, "Bounds of the Cilicians," occurs both on the rock-walls of the Gates and on the coins of Tarsus; and coins of cities rarely, if ever, mention anything outside of the city territory.

#### VI. THE CILICIAN GATES AND THE TEKIR SUMMIT.

The actual passage of the Gates is about 100 yards long. On both sides the rock walls rise almost perpendicularly (that on the west side literally so, at one point to about 100 feet above the road), and then slope steeply back towards the towering summit of the ridge. A mediæval castle crowns the western summit, evidently a relic of the long frontier warfare between Byzantine and Saracen power, 641-965 A.D.

There has been some rather loose writing about the narrow passage of the Gates, and the Ibrahim Pasha legend is strong here. I have heard it reported that two loaded camels could not pass one another in the Gates, because they were so narrow, until Ibrahim made the opening broader by blasting the rocks; and this statement was repeated by me in conversation, before I had seen the Gates, as a report which I had not verified. A still more exaggerated form of the story may be found.

But examination of the pass shows that such reports are erroneous. Ibrahim did much for the road, but he did not widen the passage a hair's breadth. He simply cleared and rebuilt the ruinous road. The difficulty for camels before his time lay not in the narrowness of the gap between the rock walls, but in the appalling character of the path, which was covered deep with a mass of loose rough rocks, worn slippery and smooth by rain and river-water, and by the passage of men and animals. He probably used powder to break up the stones which encumbered the passage, and thus the legend grew.

Kinneir mentions that at the narrowest part the defile was "not more than ten or twelve paces from rock to rock." Not knowing of his statement, I guessed the breadth at 30 to 40 feet; and Oberhummer, in 1898, speaks of 9 to 10 metres: thus estimates before and after Ibrahim's time agree.

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\* On this subject see an article on "Roads and Travel in Roman times" in Hastings' 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. v.

It merely requires a plain statement of the facts to show the exaggerated character of the legend. A road practicable for waggons traversed the Gates at least as early as 401 B.C., and remained in use until the Arab invasion in the seventh century after Christ. In the Roman period this road was about 11 feet broad, as is plain at other points. A river also ran through the Gates, which in the wet season must carry a considerable body of water, sufficient to sweep away all vestige of a road unless plenty of space were left free for the torrent.

Moreover, I observed no trace of blasting,\* such as one sees in abundance further south down the Pass, and also on the northern side. But at least it can be asserted positively that the roadway throughout



FIG. 2.—CILICIAN GATES: SOUTHERN ENTRANCE.

the length of the Gates is cut by ancient hands from the rock, and the west side (which the road has always taken) shows the ancient surface practically unchanged.

The real state of the case is this. Before the making of the waggon-road (which Xenophon speaks about), there had only been space for the stream. There was no road except the bed of the stream, which could readily be traversed by laden animals and by men during great part of the year, but, when the water began to increase, was impassable in parts, and dangerous everywhere. Room was made for the road by cutting the rocks on the west bank, while the stream was left with its channel unimpaired.

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\* I feel very confident on this point, though I confess that I did not look carefully for traces.

Now, the question is, when and why was this road constructed? It obviously impairs, though not seriously, the defensive strength of the Gates against invasion. When the Gates formed the northern boundary of a small state, there was, from the political point of view, every inducement to keep the passage narrow and difficult, and thus impede the march of an enemy.

The reason for that really great work of cutting a waggon-road through the Gates lay certainly in trade. This was the final blow in the long contest between Tarsus on the one hand and Mallos with Adana on the other hand for the command of the traffic with the inner lands. The possession of the sole waggon-road across Taurus gave the undisputed superiority to Tarsus. It remained probably the sole waggon-road for many centuries, until the Romans made one from Laranda to Olba and Corycus, following much the same course as the modern waggon-road built by Said Pasha from Laranda to Selefke.

Quintus Curtius, in describing the seizure of the Gates by Alexander the Great in 333 B.C., says that four armed men could barely march abreast through them. This statement must, of course, be understood of the roadway. The Romans improved the path, but it is practically certain that the extreme breadth of the Roman road through the pass was 11 feet, and Langlois states it at 3 metres.

The Roman road through the Gates fell into disrepair in later centuries, and this was not entirely due to natural causes. When Taurus divided the Byzantine from the Arab power, it again became important to make the passage difficult. One of the most obvious ways of doing so was to roll down masses of rock from above; and, at any rate, in such a gap there are likely to be, in the course of centuries, occasional falls of rock disintegrated by natural causes.

In 964, when Tarsus again fell under Byzantine authority, and Cilicia was once more united with Anatolia, the roadway may have been improved, but this is doubtful; and after 1072 the Gates was once more a barrier between Christian on the south and Turk on the north, till at last Cilicia was conquered by Sultan Selim early in the sixteenth century.

How much history lies hid in Kinneir's description about 1812!—"The road was in so bad a condition that it could only be passed during the day; many of the large stones, which had been used in the construction of the Roman way, having been either removed or fallen down, whilst the surfaces of those that still remained in their places were smooth and slippery."

Nothing was actually done to improve the roadway until Ibrahim Pasha found it necessary to carry his guns across the Pass. This improvement was not maintained; but in the time of Said Pasha, about 1882, an effort was made to facilitate traffic, and the road was made passable by waggons, though there was still much difficulty



at various points. Again, recently the road has been greatly improved, and it is easy to drive up to the Gates from Tarsus, though the surface is sometimes rough. North of the Gates the road is now even better than south.

After issuing from the Gates the road passes a guard-house on the left, and enters an open valley, rising rather steeply in front, grown with small fir trees and scrub. Following the right bank of the stream, which here flows from west-north-west to east-south-east, after 10 minutes the road crosses to the left bank, and keeps along it for 45 minutes (passing the 56-kilometre stone at 10 minutes from the bridge, and a khan at 42 minutes). We then turn up due north across the ridge, and in four minutes reach the watershed and the 59-kilometre stone (at 59 minutes from the Gates). The ridge here is broad and level, so that the 60-kilometre stone is much on the same level, about 4250 feet above the sea. The ground is open and stony. High on the right is a fort, seemingly round in form, built by Ibrahim Pasha.

This little plateau, called Tekir, is the middle summit of the Cilician Gates route. There is a higher level at the northern end to traverse before the Central Plateau of Asia Minor is reached, but the ascent there is so gentle that Tekir, with its steep slopes to north and to south, is naturally regarded and spoken of as "the summit of the road."

After the 60-kilometre stone the ground slopes down rapidly to the north, and a little way down the slope stands a small house of entertainment—Tekir Khan. At the khan, which is the humble representative of the ancient Panhormos, mentioned in the document quoted above one naturally halts to review the situation, and study the historical bearing of the localities.

The Gates were the defensive point for Cilicia in ancient times. In that narrow pass, as Captain Kinneir says, "a handful of determined men might bid defiance to the most numerous armies." The position would in that age have been impregnable, unless an enemy could cross the rocky ridge and come down in the rear of the defenders. But from Tekir one sees that that could be done: assailants from the north could get over the ridge either on the east or the west into the gorge south of the Gates. It was therefore necessary to defend the ridge also, and thus the line of defence was widened. It was probably in the time of the Byzantine and Arab wars that a castle was built on the west summit of the ridge, overhanging the Gates and the gorge south of the Gates, but some guard-house may have existed earlier.

In spite, however, of this element of weakness, the Gates formed a great and strong defence, which strikes almost every traveller with admiration and awe. The importance attached to it in military operations, such as the Anabasis or the march of Alexander the Great, is entirely justified by its nature; and the reason why the Crusaders

called it the "Gate of Judas" is clear, for it was the natural enemy of their cause and the betrayer of their safety. As the Arab proverb said, "He that fears not the Boghaz fears not God."

But in modern warfare the Gates is not the important point. It can be swept from end to end by cannon from the open ground to the north, while on their side the defenders of Cilicia would be involved in several difficulties which it is unnecessary to describe.

When in 1839 the boundary between the Ottoman and the Egyptian power was fixed at Ak-Keupreu, a point in the pass 20 miles north of the Gates, Ibrahim Pasha (or rather his chief engineer, a Pole, Colonel Schultz, also called Yusuf Agha) had to select a line of defence. At first historical tradition made them try the north front of the Gates; but they soon abandoned this scheme,\* and selected the Tekir summit. This little open, stony plateau, about 1 mile by 2 miles, offered an excellent position. The approach from the north is up a steep and narrow defile, down which a stream runs east-north-east to the Vale of Bozanti. The defensive works consisted (as Langlois and Ainsworth are agreed) of eight forts, running obliquely across the plateau from east-south-east to west-north-west, presenting a front of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and mounting over a hundred guns. On the east and west the plateau is shut in by hills of moderate elevation, and a watch-tower was placed on the eastern hills, and a blockhouse on the western. The lines could be held (according to Langlois) by a force of 3000 men.

As the approach from the north was up a narrow glen, the fire of all the forts could be concentrated on the mouth of the glen. Other points of military interest are described by Ainsworth (a traveller commissioned by this Society) and by Langlois. But our interest lies mainly in the conditions which alter the points of importance at different periods of history. The summit was of little consequence in the ancient defensive system, whereas it is the prime point in the modern system. The summit required an army to hold it, whereas in ancient times, when few soldiers were maintained permanently, points of defence were sought that could be held by very small bodies of untrained men. In the ancient system either the top of the narrow glen leading down north to the Vale of Bozanti or the Gates was the point on which the defence would rest; and the north glen offered more opportunity for flank attack on the defending posts, and needed a larger body of defenders, so that the Gates was the point of defence and the boundary between tribes or provinces. The Gates alone was preserved in the memory of history. In modern time the summit is the inevitable line of defence.

Accordingly, ancient history attaches no importance to the Tekir

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\* Langlois says that the scheme was put in operation to some extent, and found impracticable.

plateau. Langlois, indeed, considers Tekir to be the place called the Camp of Cyrus; but this is certainly an error, as an incident of Alexander's southward march clearly proves. There was a night march of some distance from the Camp before the attacking party (led by Alexander the Great in person) came in sight of the Gates and saw that they were undefended, whereas at Tekir the whole camp would practically be in sight of the Gates. There are also other reasons which prove that the Vale of Bozanti was the Camp of Cyrus; and the inevitable rendezvous for an army preparing to force the Gates.

So hastily did Ibrahim evacuate Cilicia in 1840 that all his cannon are said to have been left on the forts of Tekir.\* The eastern fort is still a striking feature in the landscape; but the forts have long ago been dismantled, the guns removed, and the buildings left to moulder gradually away, under the gentle influences of nature, like most things in Turkey.

#### VII. THE VALE OF BOZANTI (PODANDOS).

In descending the glen described above as leading down to the Vale of Bozanti, the road is bordered on the right by the Anasha-Dagh, 6000 feet in height. The road which leads down that narrow glen from the Tekir summit keeps to the west bank of a small stream which rises close behind Ibrahim Pasha's lines; but between 65 and 66 kilometres from Tarsus it crosses to the right bank and reaches Aiva-Bey-Khan. The descent is extremely steep for more than 2 miles before reaching this khan. Immediately after leaving the khan the road crosses again to the left bank of the stream, then leaves it 3 miles further on, and goes over some hills, rising 200 feet, and again descending to the Vale of Podandos, still called Bozanti.†

High on the mountain, overlooking the Vale of Bozanti (Podandos), is Anasha-Kalesi, described by Langlois as a Byzantine fortress, built of black marble. Its wonderful situation, and Langlois's account of the material, make it seem more like a castle of the Arabian Nights than a real fortress. Its history can be traced from the eighth century onwards. It was called by the Arabs Hisn Assakaliba, the Sclavonian castle, because a garrison of Sclavonians was planted on those mountain slopes and glens. These seem to have been the Sclavonians who deserted by thousands from the Byzantine side in the seventh century. In the eighth and ninth centuries the castle was taken and retaken

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\* My estimate of the height of Tekir summit was 4240 (allowing it 80 feet above Tekir Khan) in 1891, and 4300 in 1902. Major Bennet and Colonel Stewart (who was afterwards with Gordon in Khartum) agree in allowing 4300; Ainsworth has 3812; Oberhummer 4607 (with the same allowance as in my estimate). My estimates depend on aneroids lent by the Society.

† There must have been an ancient by-form Pozandos. Compare Nadiandos-Nazianzos ('Hist. Geogr.', p. 348), Ariandos-Arianzos, etc.



several times, but on the whole seems to have been generally held by the Saracens.

The Byzantine name for it was apparently *Rodentos*, and the crusaders mixed up the two names, *Rodentos* and *Podandos*, and called it *Butrentum*.<sup>\*</sup> The numerous crosses, marked by many good crusaders on the rocks near the castle, are an interesting monument of those wonderful marches of the early crusades. They are described by Langlois; I have not seen them.

Even the most hearty opponent of epigraphy must feel some interest in those memorials, among which it is possible that Godfrey and Tancred, Baldwin and Bohemund,<sup>†</sup> inscribed their marks, and must surely regret that those heroes were unable or unwilling to write their own names. The common mercenary soldiers—Greek or Carian—who marched in the service of an Egyptian king to the southern frontier of Egypt, six centuries B.C., could scrawl their names and a record of their march and its purpose as they passed by Abu-Simbel, each in his own language; but few of the nobles of France or Germany could do so eleven centuries after Christ.

The Vale of *Podandos* is described contemptuously by the great Cappadocian churchman, Basil of *Cæsareia*, as a mere pit or *barathrum* in Mount Taurus, which illustrates the indifference of the ancients to the picturesque aspect of nature and their dislike for mountains. Round it on every side the mountains stand up steep to the height of 5000 to 7000 feet above the sea. The Vale itself, which is about 4 miles long and 2 broad, is level, oval in shape, abundantly supplied with good water, and about 2750 feet above the sea. It is the natural rendezvous for an army marching from the interior to force the passage either to Tarsus or to Adana. Here Cyrus the Younger encamped when Xenophon and the Ten Thousand Greeks accompanied him in his attempt to seize the crown of Persia, and the place retained long the name of the "Camp of Cyrus." At present there is only the scantiest population in the neighbourhood—a few scattered huts and small villages or *yailas* among the mountains, and some nomads' tents and two khans in the valley. But in ancient times the beautiful and fertile Vale, where three routes from the north and two from the south met, must have been a populous and busy settlement.

The stream which comes down from Tekir enters the Vale some way to the right of the road, and joins the river that flows southward

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<sup>\*</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus distinguishes *Rodentos* and *Podandos*, mentioning both, along with *Loulon*, as the southern points of the Cappadocian Theme. I wrongly supposed in *Historical Geography*, p. 352, that this was an error of Constantine's, and that *Rodentos* and *Podandos* were one place.

<sup>†</sup> The routes of the First Crusade are obscure and deserve fuller study; but Baldwin and Tancred at least must have traversed the Gates, as they took Tarsus and Mopsouestia.

through the Vale. This river, which is called Bozanti Su or Chakut Su, rises on the Central Plateau and flows in a general south-easterly course through Taurus to join the Sarus some miles below Adana. Our road meets it here, and will follow its course upward from this point to the source of one of its arms; but its course downwards to the Sarus may be briefly noticed at this point.

The river flows off to the south-east from the Vale, and a path leading to Adana goes along its bank. After a few miles the rocks close in on the river and narrow its bed, so that the road has to leave it and ascend the mountain-side. The bed of the stream grows more narrow and difficult. Colonel Massy traced its course for a certain

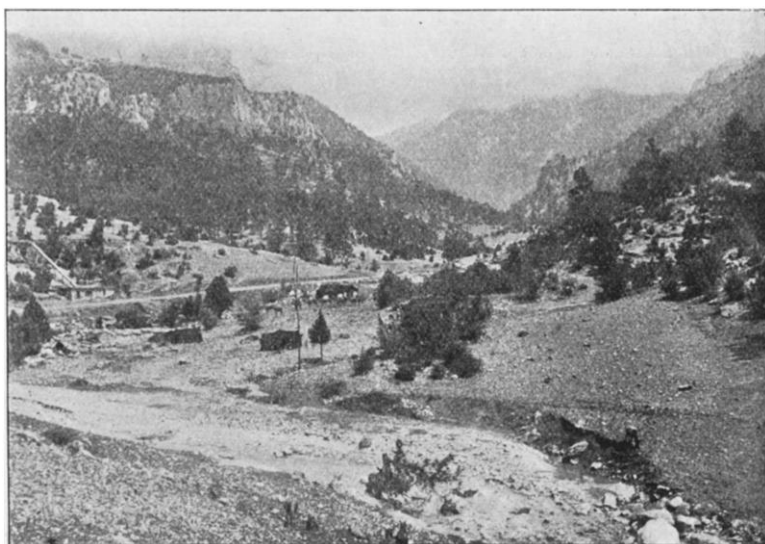


FIG. 3.—THE VALE OF PODANDUS (BOZANTI).

distance, till he could go no further except in the river-bed, and I do not know that any one, except the engineers surveying for the Anatolian Railway extension, have followed it further. They report (as Colonel Massy informed me) that the mountain closes in over the river, which flows into a hole and disappears. This mountain is evidently the same front ridge of Taurus which a little further west was surmounted at Tekir by the Cilician Gates road. The river emerges on the other side, but I could learn nothing as to its exit, or the exact length of its underground course: this cannot, however, be very long, as the road from Adana to Sarishek follows the lower course of the Chakut for a considerable distance, and above that its course is known by report for a good many miles further. Moreover, the river bears the same name below as above, and in similar cases where the

underground course is long, I have always found that the name is changed, even though the connection of the upper and lower streams is firmly believed in by the people.

Obviously, nature marks out the path from the Central Plateau to the Cilician Plain as being down the Chakut to Adana; and the railway will doubtless take that course, if it can elude the one serious difficulty by a tunnel. But the road has to go over the mountain, and the ascent and descent are said by Colonel Massy to be much more precipitous than on the Gates route. It must, however, be remembered that the latter road represents the result of several thousand years' fitful work, and that Greek and Roman and modern European engineers have all laboured to improve it. But this Chakut road direct to Adana (which was said by the natives at Bozanti in 1891 to be an easy path) has been very much left to nature; and the fact that it is now far inferior to the Gates route is no proof that it might not have been made equally good by care and energy.

The question remains for settlement—it is one that I had proposed to myself for the journey of 1902, but found that there was little hope of settling it without a long period of work and a different equipment\*—whether any traces can be found of an ancient road down to Adana along the stream. I am for the present reduced to reasoning, which is less satisfactory and convincing than actual discovery.

When Mallos, with the aid of Adana, was competing with Tarsus in early times for the Cilician trade, this natural line of road down the stream from the plateau to Adana must inevitably have been used. But when Tarsian energy had developed the less obvious route through the Gates, and made the magnificent harbour, Tarsus became the unquestioned capital of the lower valley, while Adana apparently allowed the Chakut route to remain unimproved, till it sank into insignificance. Yet it was used as late as B.C. 401, when Cyrus the Younger evidently entered Cilicia by this way.

Xenophon's description of the crossing of Taurus has always been a riddle, but the solution is now quite simple. The soldiers of Cyrus advanced from Tyana, which lies on the plateau in front of the northern end of the Great Pass. As King Syennesis of Tarsus was said to be on the heights guarding the pass, they remained one day in the plain. By the "plain" Xenophon means the Vale of Bozanti, for, though he had been among the mountains for a considerable time before reaching the Vale, yet the march from Tyana to Bozanti is entirely (except for the crossing of one ridge below Lulon) along a level easy path, with a

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\* Such an exploration may, by good luck, be achieved in a few days, if one chances on some decisive trace; but, on the other hand, the traces of an ancient road often lie concealed close at hand and escape notice: hence it may take a long time to prove a negative.

very gentle rise from Tyana for nearly 20 miles, and then a long gentle descent to Bozanti.

The pass which Syennesis was guarding was clearly the Gates, because it was a road practicable for wheeled traffic; and it seems at first natural to suppose that Cyrus advanced by the same road, for a messenger came to report to him that Syennesis had abandoned the heights; and thereafter the army of Cyrus ascended the heights, and saw the tents where the Cilicians were keeping guard, though we have just previously been informed that Syennesis had abandoned the heights. It is noteworthy that Xenophon at this point speaks only of the heights, and not of the Gates. Had he seen them, he would hardly have spoken so much about the heights, *i.e.* the summit, and kept absolute silence about the critical point which was guarded. Considering how apt and well chosen are Xenophon's brief accounts of what he saw on the march, it seems incredible that he could have described the pass of the Gates in terms so inapplicable, if he had ever seen it. Other travellers, especially Kinneir, have remarked on the unsuitability of his account to the localities. That acute observer, Kinneir, felt convinced that Cyrus did not traverse the Gates, but frankly confesses that he cannot specify the route. He finally takes refuge in the supposition that Xenophon may have forgotten; but we shall find this unnecessary.

Of course, those who are determined to make out that everything in the ancient writers is perfectly accurate and perfectly in accordance with our present knowledge (however inaccurate our present knowledge may afterwards turn out to be)—all that large class of scholars will easily find that Xenophon is here describing the Cilician Gates, when, without mentioning the one really important and impressive point, he tells how the army climbed the heights, and looked on the Cilician tents, and then descended the other side.

But the decisive proof that Xenophon did not cross through the Cilician Gates lies in the fact that he descended into a large and beautiful plain, and thereafter marched four days' journey (25 parasangs, *i.e.* 62 or 63 miles) through the plain to Tarsus.\*

Contrast this with the account of Alexander the Great's march. He halted at the Camp of Cyrus, *i.e.* in the Vale of Bozanti. Then during the night he advanced with some chosen troops to surprise the Gates. The guards at the Gates, seeing him advancing over the summit, abandoned their post and fled. They knew that there were other paths across the mountain wall, and were afraid that they might be taken in rear. Thereafter Alexander occupied the Gates with his whole army, and in one day swooped down on Tarsus, about 34 Roman miles, downhill the whole way—a good march, but quite possible.

\* This seems decisive against Sir C. Wilson's suggestion, otherwise very tempting, that Xenophon crossed the ridge by the path above the Gates mentioned in Section VI.

Xenophon describes the march from Tyana to Tarsus as being through the plain for some considerable distance, then across a mountain, and then for over 60 miles to Tarsus through the plain. This is true of the Chakut route if we bear in mind that both on the north and south he speaks of a road along an easy, very gently sloping glen as being "through the plain." It is remarkable that Xenophon states time and distance in every march across Asia Minor except the one from Tyana through the plain (*i.e.* to the Camp of Cyrus) and across the mountain ridge; but it is quite characteristic of the ancient style to omit some numbers in this puzzling way, as every reader of the Acts of the Apostles knows. The march, being a dangerous one, was probably made slowly and with frequent halts.

Obviously, Xenophon's 62 miles from the foot of the mountains to Tarsus is wholly inconsistent with a passage of the Gates; but it suits quite well with the route that goes down the Chakut water. Cyrus climbed the mountain, where the stream goes under it, descended the other side, and was then obliged to follow the river for some distance, and at last turn away south-west to Tarsus. In this way he would have about 60 miles' march to Tarsus after he had descended into the low ground from the mountain.

Our conclusion seems irresistible. One way of eluding it is to suppose, as some have done, that Xenophon means that the whole march from Tyana to Tarsus was 62 miles. But that is impossible, both because the meaning of the words is quite plain, and because the distance from Tyana to Tarsus by the shortest road is fully 95 miles.

Xenophon made one mistake. He was at this time an obscure volunteer, who had not access to the best information, and he thought that Syennesis had been defending the route by which the Greeks advanced, and hence he says that the king had been defending the heights; but there can be no doubt that the main Cilician defence rested on the Gates, 500 feet below the summit of the road. But, even though the Cilician king had abandoned the Gates, Cyrus shrank from attempting that road. The pass below the Gates was difficult, resistance was possible at several points, and Cyrus evidently desired to occupy Cilicia peaceably, relying on the co-operation of the Cilician queen.

Apart from that one misconception Xenophon's account is clear and simple, in keeping with the directness and accuracy of his whole narrative.

The history of Podandos was wholly governed by geographical considerations. It was naturally a place of great importance in the Roman Empire, as the maintenance of communication along the great Cilician and Syrian road depended on it. In the strange mixture of royal governments and Roman provincial boundaries that characterized the first century after Christ, the maintenance of Roman communication



between the provinces by retaining command of the Great Pass was a prime necessity; and the command of the Pass depends on the possession of Podandos.

Yet, to judge from the books, Podandos was at that time the most insignificant of places, never requiring to be mentioned. But its situation, while ensuring a distinct importance for it as an administrative centre for the Taurus district,\* and as a centre of communication at the meeting of four roads (perhaps even of five†), was also so confined as to prevent all possibility of great development. Moreover, it evidently suffered from the foundation of the city and Roman colony Faustiniopolis,‡ 25 miles north-west, on the same Great Pass. It may be presumed that the new city enjoyed imperial favour; and its situation made it a better centre for the northern Taurus district than Podandos.

When in A.D. 372 the Emperor Valens divided the huge Province Cappadocia into two parts, Prima the northern and Secunda the southern, Cæsareia continued to be capital of the northern part, and Podandos was chosen as capital of the southern part. There can be no doubt that the choice was due to its importance as a centre of communication; but the choice was vehemently resented in the country, and strenuously opposed by Basil, who describes Podandos as like "the Spartan pit Ceadas (into which criminals were thrown), or one of those natural chasms breathing a noxious vapour, to which people have given the name Charonian." The issue finally was that Tyana was made the metropolis of Second Cappadocia.

The bishoprics of Cappadocia Secunda now ceased to be subject to Cæsareia. This change also was vehemently resisted by Basil; but in vain. He instituted several new bishoprics to strengthen himself, and one of them apparently was Podandos. Podandos was obviously a part of the Province Secunda which contained the southern half of Cappadocia, yet Basil seems to have succeeded in maintaining the ecclesiastical relation between Cæsareia and Podandos, though the civil administration must still have regarded Podandos as part of Secunda. Basil was aided by two circumstances to maintain the ecclesiastical relation contrary to the civil. (1) There was a road, practicable for horses but probably not for carriages, which connected Podandos directly with Cæsareia without passing through Tyana, as the great route did. This road diverges from the great route at Podandos and goes straight north,

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\* Taurus, really an elevated broad plateau rather than a mountain range, presents, even in this very broken part, many high-lying glens and open places which were once much more populous than they are now.

† These are (1) by the Gates to Tarsus, (2) to Adana, (3) to Cæsareia direct by Karydion or Funduklu, (4) to Tyana and to Heracleia by Loulon—the road which is the object of this study, (5) a horse-road to Tyana diverging from (4) at Takhta-Keupreu (see below).

‡ See Section IX.

No. IV. OCTOBER, 1963.]

keeping high up on the east flanks of the lofty mountains called now Ala-Dagh (a long and striking ridge, covered with eternal snow \* all along its jagged summit, said to be 11,000 feet high, running like a great wall from south to north, a projection from the Taurus range, but diverging much from the line of that range). This road has been much used in recent centuries for such traffic as was carried from Cilicia to Cæsareia, because the longer Roman route had sunk into such a state of disrepair as to be passable only by pack-animals; and it is probably the route called Karydion in Byzantine times. That view seems to be proved by the name Funduklu, still attached to a village on the road.† That being so, the glen by which our road leaves the Vale of Podandos and goes on to the west or north-west, is the Byzantine Maurianon (see 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor,' p. 350). (2) The see of Cæsareia owned the revenues of the monastery of Orestes, which was apparently somewhere in the neighbourhood of Podandos, and this connection strengthened the ecclesiastical bond.

Hierocles, who was much influenced by the ecclesiastical lists, was betrayed by them into the error of placing Podandos among the cities of Cappadocia Prima, though there can be no doubt that the whilome civil capital of Secunda must have been ranked by the civil authority in that province; and Hierocles aimed at constructing a list of civil, not ecclesiastical, character.

In later Byzantine time Podandos was separated from Cappadocia and transferred to Cilicia. This implies that the Cilician frontier was pushed north from the Gates for some distance; and it is probable that the new frontier was fixed at the narrows immediately west of Chifte-Khan, though a point nearer White-Bridge is possible (see below). The time when this change was made is uncertain. It was later than Hierocles (about A.D. 530); and it is not likely to have been made except as part of some general reconstruction. When the Themes were instituted, probably by the Iconoclast emperors in the eighth century, Podandos was still connected with Cappadocia, of which Theme Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that it formed the southern limit.

The transference, therefore, had not been made before the Arab conquest of Cilicia about 650; and, if so, it is not likely to have been made until Tarsus and Cilicia were recaptured from the Arabs in 965; for it would be absurd to place a town, which was in dispute between

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\* Mr. Hogarth informs me that he does not believe the snow lies all through the summer on Ala-Dagh. There has always been snow on it and on Hassan-Dagh (said to be lower by nearly 1000 feet), so far as my experience (insufficient to prove the point) goes; and the popular story is that Ala-Dagh is always snow-clad.

† The name Funduk is found also as an Oriental form of the Greek *Pandocheion*, "an inn" (see Buhl in Hastings, 'Dict. of Bible,' V., art. on *Roads and Travels in O.T.*; Krauss, 'Griech u. Lat. Lehnwörter im Talmud,' etc., ii. p. 428; Neubauer, 'Géogr. du Talmud,' p. 172); but that form is not likely to have occurred in this case. Funduk is the Turkish translation of the Greek *Karydion*.

Byzantine and Saracen armies, under the authority of Tarsus, which was definitely a Saracen city. On the other hand, it is only natural that, when Tarsus was recovered, the long-disputed line of the great road, which had become so closely associated with the long-lost city, should be formally placed under its authority; and so we find the bishopric of Podandos under Tarsus in a very late Oriental Notitia.\*

#### VIII. FROM BOZANTI TO THE VALE OF LULON.

The road keeps on to the north through the Vale of Bozanti, past two khans, and turns to the north-west along the right bank of the Chakut, through a glen which grows narrower as we ascend. South of the point where the glen opens on the vale, the ancient Podandus may be placed. Past the 80-kilometre stone we cross a bridge, called Ak-Keupreu ("White Bridge"), which is the boundary of the vilayets of Adana and Konia, and which was formerly the boundary between Turkey and Ibrahim Pasha's realm. When Ainsworth passed along this road in November, 1839, the advanced guard-houses on the Egyptian side were placed at the point where the glen opens on the Vale of Bozanti, while the main line of defence on the Tekir plateau has been described above. The Turkish advanced posts were close to the west of the White Bridge, and their main lines at Chifte-Khan, about 8 miles further up the glen.

The Ibrahim legend is here again in evidence. Already in 1839 Ainsworth says that the White Bridge was built by Ibrahim Pasha, but this is incorrect. The bridge, as we saw it in 1882, 1890, and 1891, was evidently a mediæval work, and quite picturesque, with its steep ascent to a high central point and its sharp descent on the other side. It was very narrow, about 7 or 8 feet across. Ibrahim's bridges were not of that style. But, naturally, he was not eager to facilitate the passage across his frontier, and left the old bridge, which Captain Macdonald Kinneir saw in 1813.

White Bridge is placed at the narrow end of a funnel. The rocky hills north and south of the stream here close in till they nearly meet, and there are few spots more picturesque than the approach to the bridge from the Vale of Bozanti. The old White Bridge, too, was suited to its surroundings; but between our visits in 1891 and 1902 it was replaced by a much more commodious and less picturesque structure, and is now a broad level viaduct, approached by high embankments on each side. The southern approach has completely covered up and destroyed the beauty of two springs, which rise under the rocks close to the bridge on the left hand as we ascend the stream. One was about 20 yards below the bridge, and the other close to the southern end of

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\* The published *Notitiæ Episcopatum* as a rule are confined to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and therefore omit all Cilicia, Syria, Palestine, etc.



the bridge. The latter, called Sheker Bunar ("Sugar Spring"), now runs out through a small tunnel in the substructure of the bridge. The rocks have been blasted along this stretch of road, which was formerly difficult; and the lower spring, which was formerly extremely picturesque, is now unrecognizable; and both might readily be passed unobserved by travellers.

Above the bridge another very large spring, called Kara-Su ("The Black Water"), rises under the southern mountains. The story is that this spring, whose water is bad and fever-producing, comes from the Bulghar Maden (Mines), so that straw thrown in at the mines comes forth by this spring, and that it poisons the waters of the Chakut-Su.



FIG. 4.—LOOKING UP TOWARDS WHITE BRIDGE: RUINED OLD BRIDGE.

This spring was called Rakha by the Arabs; and the belief in its poisonous character can be traced as far back as the ninth century, when the death of the Khalif Al-Mamun was attributed to this cause. The story is told by the Arab historian as follows:—

Returning in A.D. 883 from an expedition into the Byzantine territory, the Khalif Mamun encamped by the side of the beautiful stream, whose waters were so clear that the legend on a silver coin, which was thrown in, could be read as it lay at the bottom, and so cold that it was impossible to bathe in them. Mamun saw a fine fish in the water, and promised a reward to the man who should bring it to him. A servant caught it, but as he was handing it to the Khalif, the fish slipped out of his hand back into the stream, and splashed the ice-cold water over the royal robes. The fish was again caught; but hardly

had the order been given that it should be fried, when the Khalif was seized with a chill, and began to tremble like a leaf. His attendants covered him with garments, and lit a fire; but he continued to complain of the cold, and when the fish was brought cooked to him he could not eat it. He asked the name of the stream: it was called Koshaira, "stretch out thy feet." He asked the name of the district: it was called Rakha. Then he remembered the prophecy that he was to die at a place called Rakha, on which account he had always avoided the city of that name. That night he died; and Mutassem, his brother, reigned in his stead, and carried his body to Tarsus and buried it there.

There is here an evident confusion of the two springs, the beautiful



FIG. 5.—LOOKING DOWN TOWARDS WHITE BRIDGE.

water below the bridge, and the immense volume of water above it. Ainsworth notices only the sweet spring; while Kinneir draws a striking picture of the large upper spring, and has nothing to say of the lower springs. He says that the "torrent bursts from an abyss in a manner most extraordinary, and containing a mass of water equally great as the Seihun" (the name which he wrongly applies to the Chakut-Su, which is only a tributary of the Seihun). Now, Kinneir saw the Chakut in flood, enlarged by many tributary torrents that poured down the sides of the mountains in the gorge. Langlois also speaks only of the Kara-Su ("the Dark, Mighty Water"). The accounts of these travellers, apparently irreconcilable with one another, really relate to different springs, yet all declare that there is only one.

At the north end of the White Bridge a new khan has been built in the last few years, which is, if possible, dirtier and more miserable than the old khans on this route. The line of the Roman road can be traced very clearly beside and below the khan. It did not cross at the White Bridge, but ran along the left or north bank till at least 500 yards further down. Much cutting was needed to make room for it on this bank, and three gateways have been cut through projecting spurs of rock, varying in breadth from 13 to 15 feet. At the left as one enters \* on the first gateway is an obliterated inscription, which we examined with eager curiosity in hope of some historical evidence; but after some trouble found it to be only a pious expression, "Lord, help Martyrius, the deacon," engraved in good letters of the early Byzantine or late Roman period—perhaps the prayer of some pilgrim to Jerusalem along this pilgrims' road.

Below this first gate is the ruin of an older and even narrower bridge than the old Ak-Keupreu; it was clearly a mediæval work.† Of the Roman bridge we saw no trace, though we walked down along the Roman road to the end of the rocks. The Roman bridge was situated in an open part of the glen, and has been entirely carried away by the storms and floods of a thousand years. Here, as further south, the Roman road was on a high level, and there must have been an elaborate substructure to carry it along in many parts; only where the rock level was high can we still trace the line.

But more than nature was at work to destroy the Roman road. This was the road by which the Arab armies came to harry the Byzantine province and to besiege Constantinople itself, and there can be no doubt that difficulties were thrown in their way by destroying the grand Roman road. But as to this we are not left to mere reasoning; we have the definite proof in Ibn Khordadbeh's account of the road about the middle of the ninth century.

"After leaving Podandos one travels through a narrow pass, called the Two Clefts (*les deux fentes*),‡ traversed by a river which one has to ford twenty times, to the hot springs, which are separated from Louloua by an easily crossed hill. After crossing this ridge, Louloua lies in front. Thence one goes to a castle" (evidently Hirakla, near Eregli, which preserves the name).

The Roman road kept on the north bank the whole length of this glen, and must have been completely destroyed before the path could be forced to cross and recross the stream so often.

The sides of the gorge above the White Bridge close in more

\* I mean from our view as we walked back down the glen after crossing White Bridge, tracing the line of the Roman road.

† It can be seen in Fig. 4, on the north bank.

‡ The name still lingers in Chifte ("Twin") Khan, at the upper end of this part of the pass.

narrowly, and this is, on the whole, the most picturesque and magnificent part of the whole route. On the south the mountain rises practically perpendicular, to the height of quite 1000 feet. I should guess even a greater height, and should add that for a long distance it looks as if a stone dropped over the top would fall clear down to the bank of the stream without touching the rocks; but in such matters the eye is a fallible witness. The plants and moss in the crannies of the rock impart a strikingly beautiful variety to the colouring, in some seasons of the year at least; but even this colouring does not detract from the awe-inspiring character of that vast almost overhanging wall. On the north side the hills rise nearly as high, but slope more gradually,

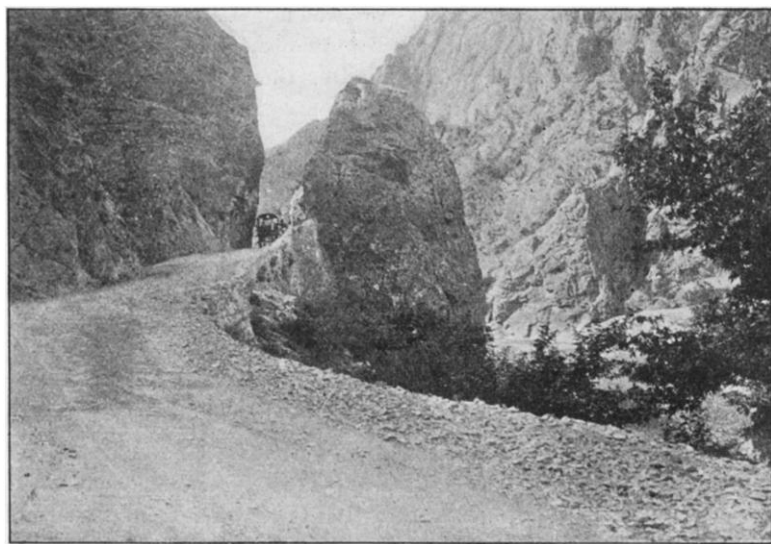


FIG. 6.—ROMAN ROAD CUTTING, WIDENED BY BLASTING TO TAKE MODERN ROAD.

and as the road keeps close to this bank the whole way, and the path has been in many places blasted by modern or cut by Roman hands out of the face of the hill, one does not get the same impression of a towering precipice as on the south side.

The road from White Bridge onwards, which was exceedingly bad in 1891, is now excellent, almost as good as a Swiss diligence road in the Alps.

Two minutes after White Bridge we observed the 85-kilometre stone from Nigde, implying that White Bridge is about  $85\frac{1}{4}$  kilometres distant from that city, the modern capital of this region, or Sanjak (*lit.* Standard) of Konia Vilayet. Nigde is about 12 miles beyond Tyana, and henceforth for convenience we shall mention the miles from Tyana (here XLV.).

Four minutes after White Bridge there is a good deal both of Roman cutting and of modern blasting of the rock, and the two processes are here very clearly contrasted (see Fig. 6).

At 80½ kilometres (XLII. Tyana) we cross at Takhta-Keupreu ("Wooden Bridge") a stream coming in from the north. This stream rises in a great number of rivulets far up to the north-west, on the edge of the Tyana plain, and the horse-road to Tyana and Nigde goes up its course. This road must have been an important one in the Saracen wars, as offering an alternative route to Tyana and the river country, and avoiding the strong castle of Lulon, when that fortress was in Byzantine hands.\*

The view was long held that this path up the Takhta-Keupreu water was the line of the Roman road to Tyana, and my 'Historical Geography' (p. 346)† was written under that misapprehension. The true route was discovered on our journeys of 1890,‡ after the book was printed, but before it was actually published. The Roman road, whether to Tyana or to the west direct by Herakleia-Cybistra, keeps straight up the glen which we are ascending; this path, though a little longer, is much easier.

About the 77-kilometre stone (XL. Tyana), a road goes off right to the Hamam ("Hot Baths"), and nearly a kilometre further on we cross the water that comes down from the Baths. Ainsworth tried to quench his thirst with this water, and found it warm. But even if I ever broke the rule not to drink on the march, the sight of the Hamam, on a visit which we paid to it in 1882, would have for ever prevented me from drinking of that stream. The establishment is now of the most wretched character, and presented a singular contrast to the stately building which is figured by the roadside on the old Roman road map called the Peutinger Table. It lies only a few hundred yards back from the main road, though not within sight of it, in a recess of the mountains; and we observed no trace of ancient work. After the 75-kilometre stone (XXXVIII. Tyana), the road from the Baths westwards joins us, and soon afterwards we reached Chifte-Khan, "the Khan of the Twin Clefts." Between 75 and 69 we saw no kilometre-stones;

\* It is not impossible that this may be the Karydion route, though, for the reasons already given, that route is more probably to be identified with the path leading straight north from Bozanti.

† The only change needed in p. 346 is to read Ulu-Kishla in place of Pashmakji. In pp. 351-354, where the subject is more elaborately discussed, no topographical alteration is needed (except that Weil's identification of Assakaliba as the Arab name for the castle of Lulon must be deleted (see Section VII. for the correct view)). The conclusions about Lulon, Faustinopolis, and Halala, there attained by a long argument of only probable kind, are now conclusively proved (see Section IX.).

‡ I traversed this route for the first time in that year; and my companions, Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Headlam, found two milestones on it. In 1902 my wife and I found a third.



this was unfortunate, as our time suggests that the Turkish measurement is not accurate here.\*

At Chifte-Khan a stream from south-west comes down a most beautiful glen and joins the main stream. This stream flows from Bulghar-Maden (mines of argentiferous lead), past the village of Ali-Hoja.† The meeting of the two streams has suggested the name, which means "Twin-Khan." The pass has been more open for the last mile, and the meeting of the two streams makes a charming little valley.

Ainsworth, in 1839, saw the main Turkish lines defending the pass

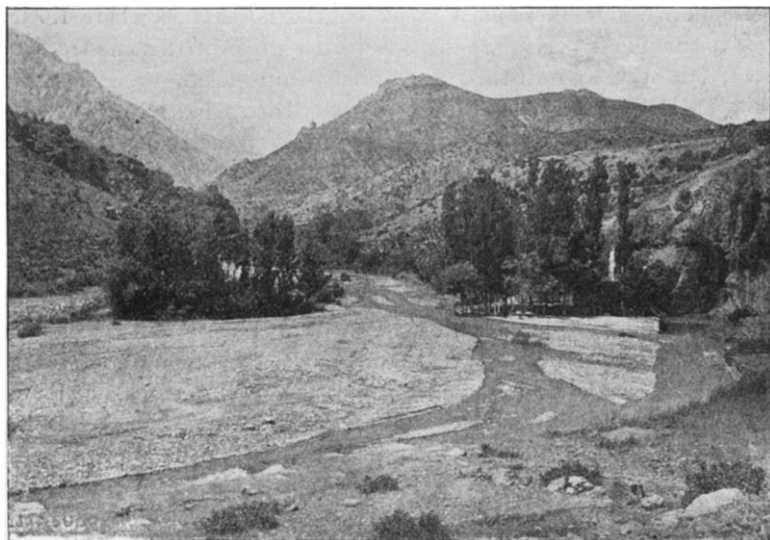


FIG. 7.—TWIN-KHAN (LOOKING UP BULGHAR-MADEN WATER.)

at this point. They were a poor contrast to the really strong works of Ibrahim Pasha on the summit of Tekir.

Immediately behind Twin-Khan the southern hills close in and narrow the glen, and the modern road follows the course of the stream, to the south bank of which we cross beside the khan. The road then ascends a fairly steep slope, but is well planned and well built. I took no reading at Twin-Khan, but estimate the altitude as 3240 feet. Twenty minutes beyond it the altitude was 3600 feet, and

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\* We went from 75th to 69th stones in twenty-two minutes; though we drove very fast along the good road to Twin-Khan, this rate seems incredible, especially as we walked on foot up the ascent west of the Khan. I suspect that the measurements were made by the longer path over Giaour Sindikh (see below), and left unchanged when the shorter way through the gorge was built.

† Called Alaguya by Ainsworth.



the stream there was far below us out of sight: the rock sloped down from our road till it almost met the sloping rocks of the north bank: there remained between them a narrow chasm, cut as with a knife—so narrow that, to us far above, it looked not more than 8 or 10 feet across—and far down at the bottom of that chasm the stream made its stormy passage.

Immediately after the 68-kilometre stone (XXXIII. Tyana) there is a narrow old bridge at a lower level spanning the chasm, which here is broader. The older horse-road used to cross here from the south bank to the north. The modern road keeps the south bank for a kilometre further, when it crosses by a new bridge (elevation 3630 feet). Just before this bridge there is a break on the north side where Kochak Dere comes in. In this part there is a little green with some trees and grass; but otherwise all this gorge from Chifte-Khan to Giaour Sindikh, 4 miles long, is absolutely desolate, bare rock, without a plant or a blade of grass visible, in striking contrast to the beauty of the Vale of Chifte-Khan.

The new road through this sterile gorge is exceedingly well built, and must have been very expensive; but, of course, the work is done by forced labour, on an admirable and perfectly humane system, every man being assessed a week's labour in the year, which is applied on the roads in his own district. This assessment is the least burdensome and most productive method of taxing a poor and hardy population, whereas even a very small tax in money would be felt oppressive, and more than half of the amount paid would be diverted to the pockets of officials, while most of the rest would in other ways fail to be applied to the road-making.

A road like this is one of the occasional signs which cheer the traveller in Turkey with the assurance that the country has still much latent strength. Anatolia has long been the seat of vitality of the Turkish State, and it is so still.

In general, I may say that on this journey we were more struck than ever before in Anatolia with the obvious signs of prosperity and increase in the population; and this was not in a region where the railway had come, bringing some activity and energy, but in simple and pure Turkish land. The excellent harvest of the preceding year had something to do with the appearance of prosperity; but that would not explain the increase in the number of villages and the breaking up of new ground, with which we were impressed since we traversed the same country, though as far as possible on a different line, eleven years previously.

The reason lies to a great extent in the administration of the present Vali of Konia, Ferid Pasha,\* a man who possesses the governing

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\* He is now Grand Vizier; but the above was in print before his promotion occurred.

instinct and capacity, who has learned much from modern European method, but applies what he has learned, not with the rigidity of a mere official trying to force European ways on an untrained, undeveloped, and unresponsive Oriental race, but with the free, rough-and-ready natural power of one who sees what is possible and gets his work done in a way that the people are fit for. Hence, on the one hand, as I was told, he has greatly increased the revenues which the Vilayet sends to Constantinople, and, on the other hand, I can vouch

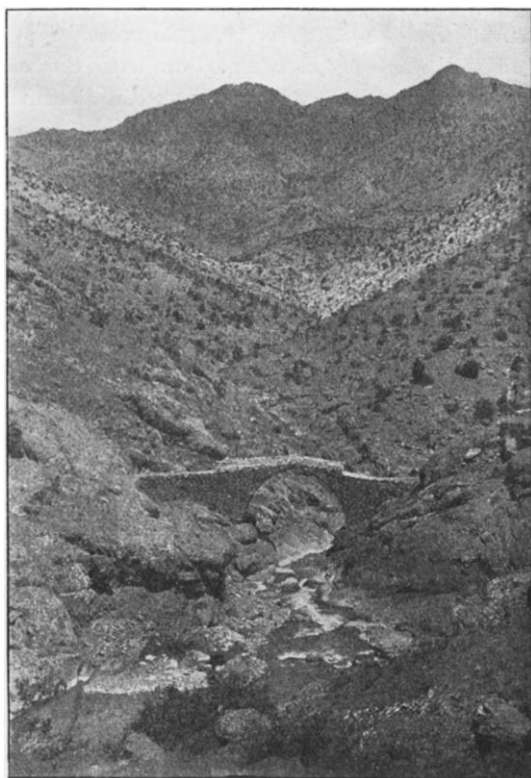


FIG. 8.—OLD BRIDGE IN THE GORGE BELOW LULON.

from personal experience for the fact that the increase is accompanied by obvious signs of increased prosperity among them, and by the most perfect order and quiet. During the last two years we travelled widely in the Vilayet, and found not the slightest trace of disorder, such as we have often observed in previous years in that and in other parts of the country. Such is always the case, in our experience, when a capable man is in authority: within two or three months the influence of a strong will and the steady pressure of a firm hand are apparent

from end to end of his province, and you can travel with as little fear of trouble or danger as in the most orderly country of Europe. But, when you inquire into the origin of the administrator, you will find that he is either an Albanian, like Ferid and the other great ruler whom I have previously mentioned, or belongs to some other of the races that possess the governing faculty. The surgeon's knife is much needed in Turkey, provided it be applied with judgment; but perhaps there are few countries in Europe where it might not be applied with benefit to the national health.

The hills between Chifte-Khan and Giaour-Sindikih are the ridge, which Ibn Khordadbeh describes as "easy to cross." By this he can hardly mean that it was easy in comparison with the road which he has been describing immediately before, between Bozanti and Chifte-Khan; for, however much that stretch of road might have been broken in order to delay the passage of invading armies, it could hardly have been made so bad as the hill road necessarily was. The Arab geographer is speaking as a soldier who had often made the march, and his meaning probably is that an army had less need to fear opposition on those comparatively open hill slopes than at other parts of the Great Pass. The gorge would in itself be easily defended; but the hills on the south are hardly more difficult than the gorge, and therefore the defenders' position in the gorge would be untenable. But along the rest of the Great Pass it was rarely possible to go round the flank of an opposing force, and the road must be won by direct attack if an enemy barred the way.

Just where the gorge begins to open a little there is an old bridge about the 64-kilometre stone (xxx. Tyana). Here the earlier araba road crossed from the south side of the stream and joined our present road. This old araba road ascended the hill from Chifte-Khan, keeping a line some way south of the gorge, and at last descended, by a very steep and difficult path, down a series of broad natural steps, to the south bank of the stream, beside the bridge. This gigantic staircase is called the Giaour-Sindikih. The bridge is about 4100 feet above the sea, showing a considerable rise from Chifte-Khan. Here ends the ridge alluded to by Ibn Khordadbeh as lying before Lulon.

#### IX. THE VALE OF LULON, AND THE CAMP OF THE ROMAN KING.

The glen now opens gradually as we advance, but is still very bleak. After passing the 63-kilometre stone we reach Tossun Ali, or Tossun-Khan, and beyond 61-kilometres (where we did not see a stone) is a mill.\* Here a more open valley spreads out before us, gentler and

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\* The name was hesitatingly given as Porsukh-Deirmen, from the nearest village, Porsukh.

tamer in character than the previous part of the pass; the hills here slope gently, and the meadows by the stream are pleasant. The main ridge of Taurus, the Bulghar-Dagh, bounding the southern horizon with its long snow-clad ridge at a considerable distance, now comes into full view for the first time. Previously it could not be well seen, because it was concealed behind the high intermediate mountains. We now see that the vale is formed by the junction of two streams, one coming in from the south-west, bringing the waters of the front slopes of Taurus main ridge, the other being the line of our road, coming down from the west. We learn from Ibn Khordadbeh, quoted above, that this is the Vale of Lulon. After crossing the ridge, says the Arab geographer, the traveller has Louloua before him. This settles finally a topographical and historical problem of great interest—the situation of the great fortress of Lulon, which was the “bulwark of Tarsus,” because, when the Arabs of Tarsus held that fortress, they could prevent a Byzantine army from entering the Great Pass. But Lulon was the watch-tower of the Byzantine Empire when the Christians held it. It was the starting-point in the line of beacon-fires by which news of an Arab raid was telegraphed to Constantinople, until the worthless Emperor Michael (842–857 A.D.), annoyed that his amusements in the amphitheatre were interrupted by the signal, ordered that the practice should be discontinued.

When the fashionable process of whitewashing all the proverbial villains of history is applied to the Byzantine time, it will be pointed out that Michael's act was misrepresented under the dynasty of Basil the Macedonian, who dethroned him; that the Saracen power was sinking low at that time and was no longer a menace to Constantinople; and that therefore it was no longer wise to throw the capital in disorder at every raid, as these could be dealt with by the ordinary armies of Anatolia. But the fact remains that the Arab power was still the great enemy, that peace and prosperity could not be hoped for in the empire until those raids were made impossible, and that Constantinople was only too apt to forget about the provinces and attend only to its immediate interests.

After the 59-kilometre stone (xxvii. Tyana) we pass Cheshmeli-Khan, and between 55 and 54 Dubekji-Khan. Immediately after the 54-kilometre stone (between xxiii. and xxiv. Tyana) the road from the mines of Bulghar Maden to Tyana comes in from the south-east, and a few yards further on is a disused cemetery by the roadside, on the right. In it are three milestones, one of which is marked “xxiii. from Tyana,” and another is inscribed with the distance from the Gates. Unfortunately, the latter number is a puzzle; it has the form—

XXXVIA

€

Without entering into the arguments and the difficulties, I may state the conclusions which seem probable and, for the most part, practically certain.

(1) The group of milestones stood together at this point, close to where the roads forked. It was usual to have quite a group of stones at each mile along the roads in this country. But still, most milestones have been carried from their original places, and some proof is demanded in this case. The proof lies in the numbers. The distance XXIII. from Tyana is correct.\* The distance from the Gates, according to the Turkish measurements, is  $57\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres, *i.e.* XXXVIII. Roman miles.

(2) The distance from Tyana to the Cilician Gates along the modern Turkish road, which necessarily follows the same route as the Roman (for no other is possible),† is about 92 kilometres, and the distance on the Roman road must have been LXI. miles; and, as these milestones are XXIII. from Tyana, they must have been XXXVIII. from the Gates. Hence the number XXXVIA. on the milestone is a slip of the engraver for XXXVIII.; he made the last two lines meet instead of keeping them parallel, being perhaps a Greek workman deceived by a carelessly written copy (as is not uncommon with Latin inscriptions in this country).

(3) The number ε means that this is the fifth milestone in the territory of the city which was situated in the Vale of Lulon. One of the milestones gives the name of this city as Colonia Faustianiana, the Roman city founded by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius as a memorial of his wife, Faustina, who died here on a journey through the Great Pass. This stone, then, was the fifth since the road entered the territory of Colonia Faustianiana. The other supposition, that this milestone was the fifth from the Colonia,‡ has been found to be impossible, because the site of the Colonia is certain, and no point 5 miles from it on the road could be XXXVI. or XXXVIII. from the Gates, or XXIII. from Tyana. But the territory of Faustianopolis (as Colonia Faustianiana was called in the Greek speech) is very clearly marked by nature; and the boundary between it and Tyana must have been in the gap on the north through which the road goes to Tyana, about 4 miles distant.

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\* In an unpublished article (summarized in the recent Supplement to vol. iii. of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions), I estimated the distance to Tyana as XXI., according to my own itinerary, and inferred that the milestones had been carried from a point 2 miles away on the east. The Turkish measured kilometres show that the distance to Tyana is XXIII. ( $53\frac{3}{4}$  kilometres to Nigde).

† Except that the Roman road probably went across the ridge west of Chifte-Khan by a longer way, south of the gorge, which the new waggon-road follows, and nearer the line of the old waggon-road.

‡ That supposition was followed by me at first, and appears in the Supplement to Corpus and among the topographical identifications which I inserted in the account of this route in Sir C. Wilson's Handbook. It implies that Ulu-Kishla was the site of the Colonia.

(4) The village where Faustina died was called Halala. This village stood near the cemetery of the milestones, and the Vale was the territory that belonged to it; in other words, Halala and Lulon are the same district. This was demonstrated by indirect arguments in my 'Historical Geography,' and from this identity the approximate site of Halala—Faustinopolis—Lulon was deduced. Such identity does not mean that the old Anatolian village, the Roman colony, and the Byzantine fortress all stood on the same spot. It means that they were the centres of population and government selected at different periods for the same tract of country, viz. the vale where we are now standing and the uplands and glens of Taurus, with some rich mines and a considerable population in old times.

The inscriptions prove that the Roman colony was here. The route given by the Arab geographer proves that Lulon was here. The proof is perfect, and to complete the subject it only remains to find the exact sites.

The village can hardly be identified; it would leave too little trace to give certainty, but it was probably at the fork of the roads to Tyana and to Ulu-Kishla, near the modern villages Bey-Aghyl and Porsukh.

As to the others, it is only necessary to bear in mind what was the situation proper, on the one hand to a Roman Colony, and on the other hand to a Byzantine castle in the Saracen wars, and one picks out the sites without hesitation. About half a mile to the south-east is a well-marked little plateau, about 50 to 100 feet above the vale. This plateau is the eastern apex of the hills which divide two streams, coming respectively from south-west and north-west. It has the appearance of having been modified by the hand of man, so as to present a level surface and a steep exterior. It stands close to the Great Road, in a situation very convenient for trade, and yet capable in Roman hands of being made a strong fortress. The old Turk who watches our operations and the strange instruments which we use tells us, when we ask him if there are any remains of antiquity hereabouts, that on that plateau they abound, and that marbles and cut stones have been dug up there. We visited the place in 1891, but owing to the crops growing over the site we could learn nothing from observation; and the same cause made a visit in 1902 useless. Without doubt that is the site of the Roman city and Byzantine bishopric, which was called at first Faustiniana Colonia, but as Latin soon ceased to be spoken by its inhabitants, the Greek name Faustinopolis came into use.

Now we look to the north where a high peak towers about 1000 feet above us, and examine it through our glasses for traces of walls. We can see none, yet this looks an ideal site for a castle such as came into fashion during the Arab wars. At that time the sudden rush of a Saracen raid carried by storm a city like Faustinopolis, ill defended by its peaceful and untrained population, who had lost all



military instinct and capacity, and were an easy prey to the hardy barbarians, whose sole business was war, and whose chief aim was death in battle as the climax of a career of victory. What was needed was a castle on a high peak, where nature aided the garrison to resist the rush of the Arab storming party. Such a fortress, indeed, could be reduced by famine and thirst; but the Arab incursions were in most

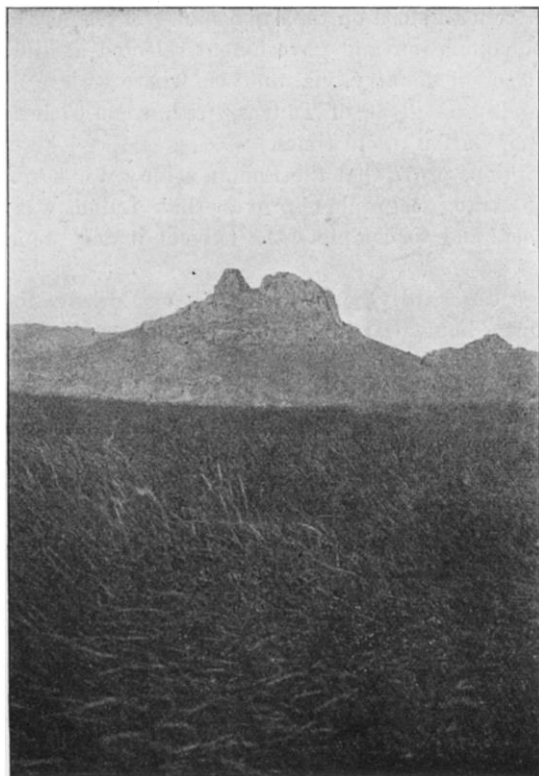


FIG. 9.—THE CASTLE OF LULON (FROM THE SOUTH).

cases mere hasty raids, and it was not often that, after the first energy of Saracen attack was spent and Constantinople had three times resisted their long blockades, they were willing to face the severe winter weather of the Central Plateau north of Taurus.

For such a purpose that lofty peak is an ideal situation. The road to Tyana turns north round its base, and thus it commands the road for a long way. Its great height would make it an admirable signal-station: it overlooks the road through the vale to the gorge, and probably even the glen beyond Chifte-Khan, and to the north it must command a magnificent view to the second beacon-height on the lofty western spur of Hassan-Dagh (Argaios). In 1886 I climbed up to that

grand castle on Argaios, and looked down to the peak of Lulon; but in 1902 I felt myself too enervated by the heat and moisture of Cilicia to attempt this steep height. Moreover, a heavy thunderstorm burst over us as we were looking up at the peak. We can hardly be mistaken, however; this must be Lulon.

And so we appeal again to the old Turk; and he tells us that there are great walls and rock-cuttings on the top of that hill, but the walls are chiefly on the north and the west sides.

Further, Ibn Khordadbeh makes it clear that the Arab name for the great fortress here was Aq-Çaḡḡaf. The situation of Aq-Çaḡḡaf has always been a puzzle, because the Arab writers sometimes speak of Loulouna and at other times of Aq-Çaḡḡaf, and this seemed to prove that they were different fortresses. We now see that they are two names, Arab and Byzantine, for one place.

Another kilometre or less brings us to Kartal-Hassan-Khan. The ascent has been comparatively stiff since 56 kilometres, and the glen is narrowing again. After another kilometre we reach the point where the road to Tyana turns up to the north, passes through a gap in the hills, and disappears from view.\* We keep on west for 3 miles to Sejah-ed-Din-Ulu-Kishla ("the Long Barracks of Sejah-ed-Din").

Here at Ulu Kishla ends the pass of the Cilician Gates, for the road now enters on an open high-lying valley, nearly circular to view, in diameter about 3 or 4 miles. At the western end of the open valley is the watershed, a gentle elevation about 5440 feet above the sea. The eastern end by Ulu-Kishla is about 4840 feet high. The watershed on the north is about 4900 feet at the point where a road goes off to the Turkmen camps on the plains that lie between Eregli and Tyana. At the western watershed begins a glen leading north-west, which is perhaps the River of Tamarisks of the Arabs (Wâdi, or Nahr-at-Tarfa).

The large building which gives its name to the village, Ulu-Kishla ("the Long Barracks"), belongs to the early Turkish period. It is not a khan, as some travellers call it,† but a station for troops; and its construction must belong to the period when the defence of the pass was still important. The villagers now say it was built by Ibrahim Pasha; but when we derided this statement, a very old man was sent for to decide the question, the sole inhabitant who had survived from Ibrahim's

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\* In 1890 I came from Tyana by this road, going to Tarsus very hurriedly. It is an easy road, ascending very gently to a barely perceptible watershed which is in the gap in the hills just mentioned. In 1902 we went some distance up the Tyana road in vain search of a kilometre-stone. The railway from Kouia will enter by this path probably, and not by Ulu-Kishlu.

† By a slip very rare in his singularly accurate, but unfortunately too brief, *Hand-book*, Sir C. Wilson calls it a khan. This is literally only a slip, as he pointed out to me in 1882 on the spot that the building was not a khan. But in the preface he says that this route was written by another hand.

time, and he confirmed us, to the great admiration of his compatriots. A mosque, beside the Kishla, however, may be Ibrahim's work, as Sir C. Wilson thinks, and as, if I recollect rightly, the old man declared.

It is tempting to identify the Long Kishla as the site of that Camp of the King of the Romans, which Ibn Khordadbeh describes as being at the end of the pass; but Kinneir mentions a Roman camp in the narrows near the group of milestones under Lulon, and the possibility must be acknowledged that that was the Camp meant by the Arab geographer.

Had time permitted, I should have liked to say something as to the conditions of weather in the pass, for Taurus marks the limit between the severe climate of the plateau and the hot, moist climate of the sea-plain, and, indeed, that was one of the causes which made Taurus such an important barrier between nations. But there is so much to say on this point, and so many questions hinge on it, that I must refrain. Already I have trespassed too far, and yet I have been able neither to carry out my intention of giving a fairly minute description of the road, stage by stage, such as might exhaust the subject and be permanently useful for reference, nor to give an account of the many topics that suggest themselves at every important point.

The pass ceased under the Turkish rule to have any importance as a trade route. Trebizond and Smyrna were the sea-ends of the only important trade-roads of Turkish Asia Minor. This was due to several causes, on which time does not permit us to enter. But there has been recently a great increase of traffic on the road. We were told of lines of camels stretching almost continuously from the Gates to Tarsus; and though what we actually saw fell very much short of the description, yet it was very much in excess of our experience in 1890 and 1891. Moreover, our journey took place in a very slack time, before the busy period of the year had begun.

## APPENDICES.

### I. TABLE OF HEIGHTS AND DISTANCES.

	Kilom. from last point.	Ramsay, 1902.	Ramsay, 1891.	Sir C. Wilson.	Major Bennet.	Colonel Stewart.	Ober- hammer.
Konia ... ..	—	[3370]	[3370]	—	—	—	—
Eregli ... ..	—	3670	3690	3400	—	—	—
Watershed 5 miles west of Ulu-Kishla	—	5440	—	—	5230	—	—
Watershed 2 miles north- west of Ulu-Kishla	—	—	4900	—	—	—	—
Ulu-Kishla ... ..	3	4850	4830	4570	—	—	—

I. TABLE OF HEIGHTS AND DISTANCES—*continued*.

	Kilom. from last point.	Ramsay, 1902.	Ramsay, 1891.	Sir C. Wilson.	Major Bennet.	Colonel Stewart.	Ober- hummer.
Junction of Roman road from Tyana to Gates }	4	—	4630†	—	—	—	—
Cheshmeli-Khan ...	7	—	4140	—	—	—	—
Porsukh-Deirmen ...	1½	—	4070	—	—	—	—
Tossun-Ali ...	2½	—	3800†	3400	—	—	—
Bridge at Giaour-Sindik	¾	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kochak bridge ...	3	3630	—	—	—	—	—
Chifte-Khan ...	3½	3240†	3490*	3090	—	—	3543
Takhta-Keupreu ...	9	3010	2990†	2800	—	—	—
Ak-Keupreu ...	5½	2860	2850	—	2980	—	—
Bozanti-Khan ...	7	—	2680	—	2820	2750	—
Hill ...	2	—	2960	—	—	—	—
Bottom ...	1	—	2740	—	—	—	—
Aiva-Bey ...	5	—	3240	—	—	—	—
Tekir Khan ...	4	4200	—	—	—	—	4527
Tekir summit ...	2	4300	4240	—	—	4300	4822
The Gates ...	5	3760	3730	3740	—	3800	4527
Giaour Harman ...	4½	—	—	—	3100	3000	—
Sarishek Khan ...	5	—	2690	2700	—	2700	—
Mazar Oluk ...	6½	1990	1950	2000	2200	—	—
Tarsus ...	38	[70]	[70]	—	—	—	—
Adana ...	—	[100]	[100]	125	111	—	459
Mopsouestia ...	—	—	—	100	—	—	525
Eukyz-Oluk † ...	—	—	—	—	—	1670 †	4429
Nigde ...	—	—	—	3910	4100	4300	4626
Tyana (Eukyzly-Hissar) †	—	—	—	3600	—	—	4265

\* This is clearly erroneous—over 200 feet too high; a thunderstorm on the mountains seems to have disordered the aneroid.

† Eukyz is an attempt to approximate to the common pronunciation of this word, which is a very common element in local names, and one which is constantly misunderstood by travellers. Eukyzly-Hissar, the modern name of Tyana, “fortress rich in cattle,” is commonly misrepresented as Kilisse-Hissar, or Kiz-Hissar, or Kizli-Hissar (Kiz means “girl”). On the map here published, and in my writings on the subject, Eukyz-Oluk is spelt Ekuz-Oluk (neglecting the modification of the vowels). The height stands as 1670 in my notes of Colonel Stewart’s route. I think that there is a slip on my part or on his, and that the number should be 2670. I have not been there.

NOTE.—My readings are estimated by aneroid by differences from Konia (railway measured height) and Tarsus. Numbers marked † indicate a mean calculated between readings at two points in the neighbourhood. My readings were not taken at the same points on the two journeys. The estimates quoted from Sir C. Wilson (except a few which I take from his *Handbook*), Major Bennet, and Colonel Stewart have been in my note-book for a long time: I believe they are all aneroid readings, except that some of Sir C. Wilson’s are calculated from boiling-point observations. Ober-hummer’s numbers are taken from his ‘Durch Syrien und Kleinasien’ (Berlin, 1898). A professional geographer, his numbers seem furthest away from the truth.

## II. THE ANCIENT ITINERARIES ARE PROBABLY TO BE RESTORED AS FOLLOWS:—

Itin. Hierosolym.	Itin. Antonin.	Peutinger Table and Anonymous Ravennas.
Andabalis.	Andabalis.	Tyana.
Tyana, [xviii].†	Tyana, xvi[III].	[Tyana, xviii.]
Faustinopolis, [x]xii[1].	Faustinopolis, xxiii.*	[Faustinopolis, v.]
Mut. Caena, xiii.		Aquæ Calidæ [xiii].
Mans. Podandus, xii[1].	Podandus, xxvi.†	Podandus, xii.
Mut. Pylæ Finis Capp. et Cil., xiii.		Fines Ciliciæ, xv. (Table reads xxv.)
Mans. Mopsoukrene, xii[1].	Mopsoukrene, xxvii.	
[Mut. in Monte = Quad- riga, xii].		[Mutatio] in Monte, xxv.
Tarsus, xii.	[Tarsus, xxiv.]	Tarsus, xii.
Mut. Pargais? xiii[1].		
Adana, xiii.	[Adana, xxviii.]	Adana, xxviii.
Mopsouestia, xviii[1].	[Mopsouestia, xviii.]	Mopsouestia, xix.
Mut. Tardequeia, xv.	Aigeai, xxi.	Anazarbus, xxvii.
Mans. Katabolo, xvi.	Katabolo, xxiii.	Epiphania, xxx.
Mans. Baiaæ, xvii.	Baiaæ, xvi[1].	Issos, xx? (Table reads xxx.)

NOTE.—The ancient authorities evidently go back to one original authority, in the form of a map, from which our extant itineraries (and lists of cities like Anonymous Ravennas and some of Ptolemy's lists) were abridged: sometimes the itineraries follow alternative routes, as was natural when all were taken from a map. That original authority was doubtless the Roman official map. Measurements to a town off the road (e.g. Faustinopolis, i.e. Colonia Faustianiana, or Aquæ Calidæ) were not reckoned up to the town, but only to the nearest point on the road. Thus, Faustinopolis xxiii. is reckoned from Tyana to the point on the road where a branch leads to Faustinopolis, about a mile or less distant; and the milestones, which are still preserved, stood at this point.

## III. THE ARAB TOPOGRAPHY OF THE PASS (DERB-ES-SALAMA).

Tarsus		
al-Ollaik ... ..	12 miles.	Eski Tersus? Muzar?
ar-Rahwa ... ..		Mazar-Oluk? Sarishek?
al-Djawzat ... ..	12 "	Gates or Giaour Kharman.
al-Djardakoub ... ..	7 "	Tekir-summit.
al-Badhandoun ... ..	7 "	Bozanti.
Camp of King of Romans ...	10 "	Ulu-Kishla? Porsukh?
Wâdi-t'-Tarfâ ... ..	12 "	
Minâ ... ..	20 "	
River of Hirakla ... ..	12 "	Herakleia-Kybigstra-Eregli.
Lake of Walia and al-Mas- kany }		Ak Göl.
Zabarla [ancient Sidamaria]		Ambararasi.
Sidryya [ancient Sideropalos]		Sidirvar.
Borghouth [ancient Pyrgos].		Cassaba

\* xviii. in MSS.

† Parthey xvi., following some of the MSS.

‡ Words or numbers omitted in the manuscripts are put in square brackets.

## IV. NOTE ON THE MAPS.

There is, as is well known, no good map or trustworthy map of Asia Minor. There is no city on the plateau whose situation is certain within several miles. In attempting to adapt route-surveys between such places as Angora and Konia, or Sivri-Hissar and Ak-Sheher, to the map, this uncertainty becomes exasperating. The most practically useful maps to the traveller in the country are the district maps of travellers like Colonel von Diest or Admiral Sprat, who delineated what they saw in the order that they saw it. But such maps are not so useful when the traveller comes to plot his own routes and fit them into the general scheme. Then the uncertainty comes in to baffle his attempt. The late Prof. H. Kiepert more than once mentioned this uncertainty to the present writer. All general maps are equally affected by it. With the means now available, this uncertainty ought now to be put an end to; but people are so much taken up with more distant and more popular enterprises that the small sum needed to do this work, so useful and (one might almost say) indispensable in the questions that must be settled in the near future, is not likely to be available.

The maps accompanying this paper partake of this uncertainty. I sent in to the Society three sketch-maps, adapted and modified in details from a map which, in its turn, had been founded almost entirely on Major Bennet's surveys in Cilicia, 1880-1882. That fundamental map was found to have various defects; some of these could be corrected, others could not without making a new map, for which the materials are not as yet available. For example, the Turkish measured kilometres showed that the scale of Major Bennet's map was very slightly smaller in the mountains than in the part south of Mazar-Oluk; this was probably due to the fact that it was based on dead reckoning by the time of a horse, and that in a given time a horse gets over a little more ground in the level country than on the rough mountain paths. But, as a whole, his map of Cilicia was much the best that I have seen.

R. Kiepert's new map was taken as a basis, and my correction embodied on that as far as possible. But for reasons given above the result cannot be considered satisfactory. The map represents no one; it is modified from Kiepert, but it is still further from what I think right.

The measurements given in Appendix I. will not be found to correspond exactly to these or to any map. They are given according to the Turkish kilometre-stones, but a slight attempt has been made to lessen the error in the stones beside Chifte-Khan, as mentioned in the paper.

When starting for this journey, I vainly tried, both in London and in Paris, to purchase a trocheameter, and the officials of the Society also tried. No one had a trocheameter ready, though many were prepared to make one. I expected that my good friend, Mr. E. Purser, manager of the Ottoman Railway, would lend me one; but when I reached Smyrna, I found that he had retired from office. There can be no doubt that, by a careful combination of the trocheameter and the Turkish measured kilometres, this road from Tarsus to Nigde might be made the basis of a greatly improved map of the eastern regions of Asia Minor, but the instrument must be ordered some months beforehand by the intending explorer.

If I have been obliged to mention the errors in the maps of the late Prof. H. Kiepert and his son Dr. R. Kiepert, I trust it is understood that I do so only for the sake of drawing attention to the urgent need of improvement in knowledge,



and from no wish to depreciate or undervalue the immense services rendered under great difficulties to all students and travellers in Asia Minor by the late H. Kiepert, whose spirit and work were beyond all praise. That R. Kiepert should continue and perfect his work is the wish of every one. But if we keep up the pretence that the existing maps are good, we only deprive Kiepert of the chance of completing his work and fulfilling his honourable ambition.

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Before the reading of the paper, the PRESIDENT said: We have to welcome this evening again Prof. Ramsay, from whom we had a very interesting paper on Asia Minor a short time ago. He is now going to give us an account of his labour, in Cilicia and Taurus. I call upon Prof. Ramsay to read his paper.

After the reading of the paper, the following discussion took place:—

SIR CHARLES WILSON: I think we are all much indebted to Prof. Ramsay for his most interesting paper. The paper, which will be published in the *Journal*, gives the road through the pass in great detail. I also think we must congratulate Mrs. Ramsay on the beautiful photographs which have shown upon the screen. The pass is certainly one which cannot be surpassed in picturesque beauty. There are one or two points upon which I should like to say a word. One is with regard to the course of the rivers in the plain. I think that at one time the ancient Mallos was very probably an island, and with regard to the connection between the Sarus and the Pyramus, I may mention that an old channel was followed by Colonel Bennet, who was at Adana in the early eighties. There can be no doubt that at one time the Sarus did flow into the Pyramus, and I think you will see from the map that it would be almost the only course for the river to take on its way to the sea in times long past. Then with regard to the Cilician gates, I had the greatest curiosity to see these celebrated gates when I was in Cilicia, and I travelled through them, and went on to the position taken up by Ibrahim Pasha. Coming back we took a road on the right bank of the river, and found a comparatively easy way which could be readily made passable for artillery to the west of the Gates. I remember thinking at the time that it was possibly the road followed by the army of Cyrus when he descended into the Cilician plain. Xenophon does not mention the Gates, and he certainly passed by some other road—possibly that which we followed. I do not remember any great battle at the Gate itself, but it is certainly an extraordinary feature, and the making of a cart-road through it must have been a very great work in the olden days, and one that facilitated commerce between the plateau of Asia Minor and the sea. I have always thought that the easiest pass across the Taurus was that by which the Turks took their artillery on their march to Northern Syria; it is some distance east of the Cilician Gates. But that route would not be a good one for the Baghdad railway to follow, because when you get out of the pass you find yourself in very difficult country for a railway; the hard limestone rocks present great difficulties, and I think the line the Germans appear to have adopted is the best under the circumstances. It is the easiest route, although it has its difficulties, and it is the route which will provide the greatest amount of traffic for the railway. When I was in Asia Minor I took great interest in the lines of railway, and it may perhaps interest you to hear the origin of the railway from Mersina to Adana. There was a progressive governor of Cilicia at that time, and I spoke to him about the desirability of having a railway to carry the produce of the great plain to the sea. He concurred, and asked Colonel Bennet, who was at that time vice-consul at Adana, to obtain the requisite information. An estimate and plan for a metre-









# MAPS

to illustrate the paper on

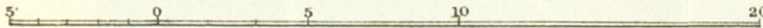
## CILICIA, TARSUS AND THE GREAT TAURUS PASS

BY

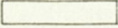
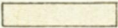


PROF. W. M. RAMSAY.

Map of the Pass adapted from Major Bennet.  
Heights indicated roughly from eye impression.

Scale of Miles.



Nat. Scale 1:400,000 or 6.3 Stat. Miles = 1 Inch.

-  The sea plains of Cilicia
-  150 ft. to 3000 ft.
-  3000 „ 4000 „
-  above 4000 „

Roads ————— Railways —————

Ancient names thus ... PODANDOS.













# MAPS

to illustrate the paper on

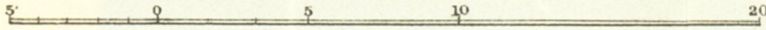
## CILICIA, TARSUS AND THE GREAT TAURUS PASS

BY

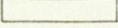
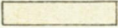


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